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HOUSE IN WHICH NAPOLEON WAS BORN
AT AJACCIO IN CORSICA.

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MEMORIAL DE SAINTE HÉLÈNE.

JOURNAL

OF THE

PRIVATE LIFE

AND

CONVERSATIONS

OF THE

EMPEROR NAPOLEON

AT SAINT HELENA

BY

THE COUNT DE LAS CASES.

VOL. II.

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MY RESIDENCE

WITH

THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON

AT ST. HELENA.

Description of the Emperor's apartment.—Minute details of his toilette and dress.—Absurd reports respecting him.—Conspiracies of Georges and Cerachi.—Attempt of the Fanatic of Schœnbrunn.

April 1st—2d. All that is in any way connected with the Emperor Napoleon must be worthy of observation, and will be held valuable by thousands. With this conviction, I shall proceed minutely to describe his apartment, its furniture, the details of his toilette, &c. And, in course of time, may not his son one day take pleasure in reproducing these details, picturing to himself the appearance of distant objects, and seizing fleeting shadows, which to him will perhaps supply the place of reality?

The Emperor's own apartments consist of two chambers *A* and *B*,* each 45 feet long and 42

* See the plan of Longwood.

broad, and about 7 feet high. A very indifferent carpet covers the floor, and pieces of nankin, instead of paper, line the walls of both rooms.

The bed-chamber *A* contains the little camp-bed *a*, in which the Emperor sleeps, and the couch *b*, on which he reclines the greater part of the day. This couch is covered with books, which seem to dispute with the Emperor the right of possession to it. Beside this couch stands a small table *c*, on which the Emperor breakfasts and dines, when he takes his meals in his own chamber, and which, in the evening, bears a candlestick with three branches, surmounted by a large ornament. Between the two windows, and opposite the door, stands a chest of drawers *d*, containing the Emperor's linen, and on the top of which stands his large dressing-case.

Over the fire-place *e*, hangs a very small glass, together with several pictures. On the right is a portrait of the King of Rome sitting on a sheep, by Aimée Thiebault,—and on the left hangs, as a pendant to it, another portrait of the young Prince, sitting on a cushion and putting on a slipper. This picture is also the production of Thiebault. Lower down is a small marble bust of the King of Rome. Two candlesticks, two scent-bottles, and two cups of silver gilt, taken from the Emperor's cabinet, complete the arrangement and decoration of the chimney-piece. Lastly, at the foot of the couch, and directly in the view of the

Emperor when he reposes on it, which he does the greater part of the day, hangs Isabey's portrait of Maria Louisa, holding her son in her arms. This wretched little closet has thus become a family sanctuary. I must not omit to mention Frederick the Great's large silver watch, which is a sort of morning bell. It was taken at Potsdam, and it hangs on the left of the chimney-piece, beyond the portraits. The Emperor's own watch, which hangs on the right of the chimney, is the same that he used in the Campaigns of Italy; it is enclosed in a gold case, marked with his cipher B. These are the contents of the first chamber.

In the second room *B*, which serves as a sort of study, along the walls next the windows are several rough shelves supported on brackets, on which are scattered a great number of books, and the manuscripts that have been written from the Emperor's dictation. Between the two windows is a bookcase *g*, in the form of a book-case; and on the opposite side stands another camp-bedstead *h*, similar to the one already mentioned. On this bed the Emperor sometimes reposes in the day-time; and he occasionally lies down on it, when he rises from the other bed during his frequent sleepless nights, or when fatigued with dictating, or walking about alone in his chamber. Lastly, in the middle of the room stands the writing-table *i*, with marks indicating the places

usually occupied by the Emperor and each of us during his dictations.

The Emperor dresses in his bed-room. When he takes off his clothes, which he does without assistance, he throws them all upon the ground, if one of his valets happen not to be at hand to take them from him. How many times have I stooped to pick up the cordon of the legion of honour, when I have seen it thrown carelessly on the ground!

Shaving, which is almost the last business of the Emperor's toilette, is not commenced until he gets on his stockings, shoes, &c. He shaves himself: first taking off his shirt, and retaining only his flannel waistcoat, which he had laid aside during the excessive heat we experienced in crossing the line, but which he was obliged to resume at Longwood, in consequence of a severe attack of the cholic; from this, however, the use of his flannel waistcoat speedily relieved him.

The Emperor shaves in the recess of the window nearest the fire-place. His first valet de chambre hands him the soap and razor; and the second holds before him the looking-glass of his dressing-case, so that the Emperor may present to the light the side that he is shaving. It is the business of the second valet de chambre to tell him whether or not he shaves clean. Having shaved one side, he turns completely round to shave the other, and the valets change sides.

The Emperor then washes his face, and very frequently his head, in a large silver basin *f*, which is fixed in a corner of the room, and which was brought from the Elysée. The Emperor is very lusty; his skin is white, with but few hairs; and he has a certain *em-bon-point* which does not belong to the male sex, and to which he sometimes jokingly alludes. He rubs his chest and arms with a tolerably hard brush. He afterwards gives the brush to his valet de chambre, who rubs his back and shoulders, and when in good humour he often says, "Come, brush hard—as "hard as if you were scrubbing an ass."

He used almost to drown himself in *Eau de Cologne*, at least, so long as he had any at his disposal: but his store of this article was speedily exhausted, and as none could be procured on the island, he was reduced to the necessity of using lavender water; the want of *Eau de Cologne* he felt as a severe privation.

After he has had his back rubbed, or after he has finished shaving each side of his beard, he sometimes good-humouredly looks his valet in the face for a few seconds, and then gives him a smart box on the ear, accompanied by some jocular expressions. This has been construed by libelists and pamphleteers into the habit of cruelly beating those who were about him. We all in our turns, occasionally received a pinch or a box on the ear; but from the expressions which always accom-

panied the action, we thought ourselves very happy in receiving such favours during the period of his power.

This calls to my recollection, and explains to me certain observations which I once heard from the Duke Decrès, one of the Emperor's ministers. The Duke, when in the height of his glory and power, wished to obtain a certain favour from the Emperor. He was conversing with me on the subject, and after adverting to all his chances of success, he said: "I shall have it "after all, the first time I get roughly treated." And remarking that my countenance expressed surprise, he added with a significant smile: "But, "my dear fellow, after all 'tis not so terrible a "thing as you imagine; many would be happy "to receive such usage, I assure you." . . .

The Emperor does not leave his chamber until he is completely dressed. He wears shoes in the morning, and does not put on his boots until he rides out on horseback. When he first came to Longwood, he laid aside his green uniform of the Guard, and wore a hunting coat, the lacing of which had been taken off. This coat soon began to look shabby, and his attendants were at a loss what to substitute for it. This, however, was not the only inconvenience of the kind to which he was exposed. For instance, we were much distressed to see him reduced to the necessity of wearing one pair of silk stockings for

several days in succession; but he laughed whenever we expressed our regret on this subject, or remarked that it was easy to count the number of days the stockings had been worn, by the marks which the shoes had imprinted on them. In other respects he retained his usual dress; namely, waistcoat and small clothes of white kerseymere, and a black cravat. When he was going out, any one of the gentlemen who happened to be in the room presented to him his hat; that little hat which has in some measure become identified with his person. Several of the Emperor's hats have been carried off since we have been on the island; for every individual who approaches him is anxious to obtain some token of remembrance of him. How often have we been tormented even by persons of distinguished rank, to procure for them even a button of his coat, or any other trifle belonging to him.

I was almost always present at the Emperor's toilette: sometimes I remained after having finished my writing, and sometimes the Emperor desired me to come and chat with him. One day I was looking stedfastly at him as he put on his flannel waistcoat. My countenance I suppose expressed something particular, for he said in his good-humoured way of addressing me: "Well, what does "*your Excellency* smile at? What are you think-" ing of at this moment?"—" Sire, in a pamphlet "which I lately read, I found it stated that your

" Majesty was shielded by a coat of mail for the " security of your person. A report of the same " kind was circulated among certain classes in " Paris; and in support of the assertion, allu- " sion was made to your Majesty's sudden *em-* " *bon-point*, which was said to be quite unna- " tural. I was just now thinking that I could " bear positive evidence to the contrary, and that " at St. Helena, at least, all precautions for per- " sonal safety have been laid aside."—" This is " one of the thousand absurdities that have been " published respecting me," said he. " But the " story you have just mentioned is the more ridi- " culous, since every individual about me well " knows how careless I am in regard to self-pre- " servation. Accustomed from the age of eighteen " to lie exposed to the cannon-ball, and knowing " the inutility of precautions, I abandoned myself " to my fate. When I came to the head of affairs, " I might still have fancied myself surrounded by " the danger of the field of battle; and I might " have regarded the conspiracies that were formed " against me as so many bomb-shells. But I fol- " lowed my old course; I trusted to my lucky " star; and left all precautions to the police. I " was perhaps the only sovereign in Europe who " dispensed with a body guard. Every one could " freely approach me without having, as it were, " to pass through military barracks; the sentinels " at the outer gates being passed, all had free ac-

" cess to every part of my palace. Maria Louisa " was much astonished to see me so poorly " guarded; and she often remarked that her fa- " ther was surrounded by bayonets. For my " part, I had no better defence at the Tuileries " than I have here; I don't even know where to " find my sword; do you see it?" said he, look- ing about for it. . . . . " I have, to be sure," he continued, " incurred great dangers. Upwards " of thirty plots were formed against me: these " have been proved by authentic testimony, with- " out mentioning many that never came to light. " Some sovereigns invent conspiracies against " themselves; for my part, I made it a rule care- " fully to conceal them whenever I could. The " crisis most serious to me was during the interval " from the battle of Marengo, to the attempt of " Georges, and the affair of the Duke d'Enghien."

Napoleon related that about a week before the arrest of Georges, a petition had been delivered into his own hands on the parade, by one of the most determined of the conspirators. Others in- sinuated themselves among the household at St. Cloud or Malmaison; finally Georges himself seems to have been so near his person, as to be in the same apartment with him.

Independently of good fortune, the Emperor attributes his safety, in a great measure, to cer- tain circumstances which were peculiar to him- self. That which had doubtless, he said, contri-

buted to preserve him, was his having lived after his own fancy; without any regular habits or fixed plan. His vast occupations kept him much at home, and almost constantly confined him to his closet. He never dined abroad, seldom visited the theatres, and never appeared but at those times and places at which he was not expected.

As we were descending to the garden after the Emperor had finished dressing, he observed to me that the two designs on his life which had placed him in the most imminent danger, were those of Cerachi the sculptor, and the fanatic of Schœnbrunn. Cerachi, and some other desperate wretches, had laid a plan for assassinating the First Consul. They agreed to carry their design into execution at the moment of his withdrawing from his box at the theatre. Napoleon, who got intimation of the plot, nevertheless proceeded to the theatre, and fearlessly passed by the conspirators, who had shown themselves most eager to occupy their respective stations. They were not arrested until about the middle or near the close of the performance.

Cerachi, said the Emperor, had formerly adored the First Consul; but he vowed to sacrifice him, when, as he pretended, he proved himself a tyrant. This artist had been loaded with favours by General Bonaparte, whose bust he had executed; and when he entered into the plot against his benefactor, he endeavoured by every possible

means to procure another sitting, under pretence of making an essential improvement on the bust. Fortunately, at that time, the Consul had not a single moment's leisure, and thinking that want was the real cause of the urgent solicitations of the sculptor, he sent him six thousand francs. But how was he mistaken! Cerachi's real motive was to stab him at the sitting.

The conspiracy was disclosed by a captain of the line, who was himself an accomplice. "This," said Napoleon, "was a proof of the strange mo-"difications of which the human mind is suscep-"tible, and shows to what lengths the combina-"tions of folly and stupidity may be carried! "This officer regarded me with horror as First "Consul, though he had adored me as a General. "He wished to see me driven from my post, but "he rejected the idea of any attempt upon my "life. He wished that I should be secured, but "would not have me injured in any way; and "he proposed that I should be sent back to the "army to face the enemy and defend the glory "of France. The rest of the conspirators laughed "at these notions; but when he found that they "were distributing poniards and going far beyond "his intentions, he then came and disclosed the "whole to the Consul."

As we were discoursing on this subject, some one present mentioned having witnessed at the Theatre Feydeau, a circumstance which threw

a part of the audience into the greatest consternation. The Emperor entered the Empress Josephine's box, and had scarcely taken his seat, when a young man hastily jumped upon the bench immediately below the box, and placed his hand on the Emperor's breast. The spectators on the opposite side were filled with alarm. Fortunately, however, the young man was merely presenting a petition, which the Emperor received and read with the utmost coolness.

The Emperor described the *Fanatic of Schœnbrunn*, as the son of a protestant minister of Erfurt, who, about the time of the battle of Wagram, had laid a plan for the assassination of Napoleon, with all due parade. He had passed the sentinels at some distance from the Emperor, and had twice or thrice been driven back, when General Rapp, in the act of pushing him aside with his hand, felt something concealed under his coat. This proved to be a knife about a foot and a half long, pointed, and sharp at both edges. "I shuddered to look "at it," said the Emperor; "it was merely rolled "up in a piece of newspaper."

Napoleon ordered the assassin to be brought into his closet. He called Corvisart, and directed him to feel the criminal's pulse while he spoke to him. The assassin stood unmoved, confessing his intended crime, and frequently making quotations from the Bible, "What was your purpose here?" enquired the Emperor. "To kill you." "What

" have I done to offend you? By whose autho-
" rity do you constitute yourself my Judge?"—
" I wish to put an end to the war." " And why
" not address yourself to the Emperor Francis?"
" To him!" said the assassin, " and wherefore?
" he is a mere cipher. And besides, if he were
" dead, another would succeed him; but when
" you are gone the French will immediately retire
" from Germany." The Emperor vainly endeavoured to move him. " Do you repent?" said he. " No." " Would you again attempt the " perpetration of your intended crime?" " Yes." " What, if I were to pardon you?" Here, said the Emperor, nature for an instant resumed her sway; the man's countenance and voice underwent a momentary change. " Even though you " do," said he, " God will not forgive me." But he immediately resumed his ferocious expression. He was kept in solitary confinement and without food for four and twenty hours. The Doctor examined him once more. He was again questioned, but all was unavailing; he still remained the same man, or to speak more properly, the same ferocious brute. He was at length abandoned to his fate.

Measures that might have been adopted after Waterloo.

3d.—In the morning the Emperor dictated in the shady part of the garden. The day was delightfully clear and serene. He had been read-

ing the account of Alexander's expedition in Rollin's History; and had several maps spread out before him. He complained that the narrative was destitute of taste, and without any proper plan. He observed, that it afforded no just idea of the grand views of Alexander; and he expressed a wish himself to write an account of the expedition.

About five o'clock I joined him in the garden, where he was walking attended by all the gentlemen. As soon as he perceived me, he said: "Come, we must have your opinion on a point "which we have been discussing for the last "hour. On my return from Waterloo, do you "think I could have dismissed the Legislative "Body, and have saved France without it?"— "No," I replied, "it would not have been dis- "solved voluntarily. You would have found it "necessary to employ force; which would have "excited protestations, and would have been "regarded as scandalous. The dissatisfaction "excited in the Legislative Body, would have "spread through the whole nation. Meanwhile "the enemy would have arrived; and your Ma- "jesty must have surrendered, accused by all "Europe, accused by foreigners, and even by "Frenchmen; perhaps loaded with universal ma- "lediction, regarded merely as an adventurer "carrying every thing by violence. But as it "was, your Majesty issued pure and unsullied

"from the conflict, and your memory will be "everlastingly cherished in the hearts of those "who respect the cause of the people. Your "Majesty has by your moderation ensured to "yourself the brightest character in history, "while by a different line of conduct you might "have incurred the risk of reprobation. You "have lost your power, it is true; but you have "attained the summit of your glory."

"Well, this is partly my own opinion," said the Emperor. "But after all, am I certain that "the French people will do me justice? Will "they not accuse me of having abandoned them? "History will decide! Instead of dreading, I in- "voke its decree!—I have often asked myself "whether I have done for the French people all "that they could expect of me; for that people "did much for me. Will they ever know all that "I suffered during the night that preceded my "final decision?

"In that night of anguish and uncertainty, I had "to choose between two great courses: the one "was to endeavour to save France by violence; "and the other was to yield to the general im- "pulse. The measure which I pursued was, I "think, most advisable. Friends and enemies; "the good and the evil disposed, all were against "me, and I stood alone. I surrendered; and "my decision being once adopted, could not be "revoked. I am not one who takes half mea-

" sures; and besides, sovereignty is not to be
" thrown off and on like one's cloak. The other
" course demanded extraordinary severity. It
" would have been necessary to arraign great cri-
" minals and to decree great punishments. Blood
" must have been shed; and then who can tell
" where we should have stopped! What scenes of
" horror might not have been renewed! By pur-
" suing this line of conduct, should I not have
" drowned my memory in the deluge of blood,
" crimes and abominations of every kind, with
" which libelists have already overwhelmed me?
" Should I not thereby have seemed to justify all
" that they have been pleased to invent? Poste-
" rity and History would have viewed me as a se-
" cond Nero or Tiberius. If after all I could have
" saved France at such a price! . . . . I had
" energy sufficient to carry me through every diffi-
" culty! . . . . But, is it certain that I should
" have succeeded? All our dangers did not come
" from without; the worst existed in our internal
" discord. Did not a party of mad fools dispute
" about the shades, before we had secured the
" triumph of the colour? How would it have been
" possible to persuade them that I was not labour-
" ing for myself alone, for my own personal ad-
" vantage? How could I convince them of my
" disinterestedness, or prove that all my efforts
" were directed to save the country? To whom
" could I point out the dangers and miseries from

" which I sought to rescue the French people?
" They were evident to me, but the vulgar mass
" will ever remain in ignorance of them until they
" are crushed beneath their weight.

" What answer could be given to those who
" exclaimed: Behold the despot, the tyrant!
" again violating the oaths which he took but
" yesterday! and who knows whether amidst this
" tumult, this inextricable complication of diffi-
" culties, I might not have perished by the hand
" of a Frenchman, in the civil conflict! Then
" how would France have appeared in the eyes
" of the universe, in the estimation of future ge-
" nerations? The glory of France is to identify
" herself with me. I could not have achieved
" so many great deeds for her honour and glory
" without the nation, and in despite of the na-
" tion. France was inclined to elevate me to
" too high a point! . . . . As I said before, His-
" tory will decide! . . . ."

He then adverted to the plan and details of the Campaign, dwelling with pleasure on its glorious commencement, and with regret on the terrible disaster that marked its close.

" Still," continued he, " I should have con-
" sidered the state of affairs as by no means des-
" perate, had I obtained the aid I expected. All
" our resources rested in the Chambers. I has-
" tened to convince them of this; but they im-
" mediately rose against me, under pretence that

"I was come to dissolve them. What an ab-
"surdity! From that moment all was lost.*

"It would perhaps be unjust," added the Emperor, "to accuse the majority of the Members "of the Chambers; but such is the nature of all "numerous bodies, that they must perish, if dis-"united. Like armies, they must have leaders.

* Time, which explains all things, has developed the little springs which brought about one of our greatest catastrophes. I received the following particulars from one who acted a part in the events of the day :—

On hearing that Napoleon had arrived at the Elysée from Waterloo, Fouché flew to the dissatisfied and suspicious Members of the Chamber, exclaiming, "To arms! He has returned des-"perate, and is about to dissolve the Chambers and seize the "dictatorship. We cannot endure the restoration of tyranny." He then hastened to the best friends of Napoleon. "Are you "aware," said he, "what a terrible fermentation has risen up "against the Emperor among certain deputies? We can only save "Napoleon by facing them boldly, by showing them the full "power of our party, and how easily the Chambers may be "dissolved."

The friends of Napoleon, easily duped in this sudden crisis, failed not to follow, perhaps even to overstep the suggestions of Fouché, who now returned to the distrustful party and said, "You see his best friends are agreed on this point: the danger "is urgent; and in a few hours there will be no remedy. "The Chamber will be no more, and we shall be very culpable "in letting slip the only opportunity of opposing him." Thus the permanency of the Chambers, the forced abdication of the Emperor, and the downfall of a great empire, were brought about by petty intrigue, by anti-chamber report and gossip. Ah, Fouché! how well the Emperor knew you, when he said, that your ugly foot was sure to be thrust into every body's shoes.

"The chiefs of armies are appointed; but, in "constituted bodies, men of eminent talent and "genius rise up and rule them. We wanted all "this, and, therefore, in spite of the good spirit "which might have animated the majority, all "were in an instant plunged into confusion and "tumult. The Legislative Body had perfidy and "corruption stationed at its doors, while incapa- "city, disorder, and perversity prevailed in its "bosom; and thus France became the prey of "foreigners.

"For a moment, I entertained the idea of re- "sistance. I was on the point of declaring my- "self permanently at the Tuileries, along with "my Ministers and Counsellors of State. I had "thoughts of rallying round me the six thousand "guards who were in Paris, augmenting them "with the best disposed portion of the National "Guard, who were very numerous, and the "federate troops of the Faubourgs; of adjourn- "ing the Legislative Body to Tours or Blois; "re-organizing before the walls of Paris, the "wrecks of the army, and thus exerting my "efforts singly, as a Dictator, for the welfare of "the country. But would the Legislative Body "have obeyed? I might have enforced obedience, "it is true; but this would have been a new cause "of scandal, and a fresh source of difficulties. "Would the people have made common cause "with me? Would even the army have continued

" constantly faithful to me? In the succession of " events, might not both the people and the " army have been separated from me? Might " not plans have been arranged to my prejudice? " The idea that so many dangers were caused by " me alone, might have served as a plausible pre- " text, and the facilities which every one had " experienced during the preceding year in gain- " ing favour with the Bourbons, might to many " have become decisive inducements.

" Yes," continued the Emperor, " I hesitated " long, I weighed every argument on both sides; " and I at length concluded, that I could not " make head against the coalition without, and " the royalists within; that I should be unable " to oppose the numerous sects which would " have been created by the violence committed " on the Legislative Body, to control that por- " tion of the multitude which must be driven by " force, or to resist that moral condemnation " which imputes to him who is unfortunate every " evil that ensues. Abdication was therefore " absolutely the only step I could adopt. All " was lost in spite of me. I foresaw and foretold " this; but still I had no other alternative.

" The Allies always pursued the same system " against me. They began it at Prague, con- " tinued it at Frankfort, at Chatillon, at Paris, " and at Fontainbleau. Their conduct displayed " considerable judgment. The French might

" have been duped in 1814; but it is difficult to " conceive how they could have been deceived " in 1815. History will for ever tarnish the me- " mory of those who suffered themselves to be " misled. I foretold their fate when I was de- " parting to join the army: *Do not resemble,* " I said, *the Greeks of the Lower Empire, who* " *amused themselves in debating while the battering-* " *ram was levelling the walls of their city.* And, " when forced to abdicate, I said, *Our enemies* " *wish to separate me from the army; when they* " *shall have succeeded, they will separate the army* " *from you. You will then be merely a wretched* " *flock, the prey of wild beasts.*"

We asked the Emperor whether with the concurrence of the Legislative Body, he thought he could have saved France? He replied without hesitation, that he would confidently have undertaken to do so, and that he would have answered for his success.

" In less than a fortnight," continued he, " that is to say, before any considerable mass of the allied force could have assembled before Paris, I should have completed my fortifications, and " have collected before the walls of the city, and " out of the wrecks of the army, upwards of eighty " thousand good troops, and three hundred pieces " of horsed artillery. After a few days' firing, the " national guard, the federal troops, and the inha- " bitants of Paris, would have sufficed to defend

" the entrenchments, I should have had eighty " thousand disposable troops at my command. It " is well known how advantageously I was capa- " ble of employing this force. The achievements of " 1814 were still fresh in remembrance. Champ- " aubert, Montmirail, Craone, Montereau, were " still present in the imagination of our enemies; " the same scenes would have revived the recol- " lection of the prodigies of the preceding year. " I was then surnamed the *hundred thousand men.*

" The rapidity and decision of our successes " gave rise to this name. The conduct of the " French troops was most admirable. Never did " a handful of brave men accomplish so many " miracles. If their high achievements have " never been publicly known, owing to the cir- " cumstances which attended our disasters, they " have at least been duly appreciated by our ene- " mies, who counted the number of our attacks " by our victories. We were truly the heroes " of fable!

" Paris," said he, " would in a few days have " become impregnable. The appeal to the nation, " the magnitude of the danger, the excitation of " the public mind, the grandeur of the spectacle, " would have drawn multitudes to the capital. I " could undoubtedly have assembled upwards of " four hundred thousand men, and I imagine the " allied force did not exceed five hundred thou- " sand. Thus the affair would have been brought

" to a single combat, in which the enemy would " have had as much to fear as ourselves. He " would have hesitated, and thus I should have " regained the confidence of the majority.

" Meanwhile I should have surrounded myself " with a national senate or junta selected from " among the members of the Legislative Body; " men distinguished by national names, and " worthy of general confidence. I should have " fortified my military Dictatorship, with all the " strength of civil opinion. I should have had " my tribune, which would have promulgated " the talisman of my principles through Europe. " The Sovereigns would have trembled to behold " the contagion spread among their subjects. " They must have treated with me, or have sur- " rendered. . . . "

" But, Sire," we exclaimed, " why did you " not attempt what would infallibly have suc- " ceeded?—Why are we here?"

" Now," resumed the Emperor, " you are " blaming and condemning me! But, if you took " a view of the contrary chances, you would " change your tone. Besides, you forget that " we reasoned in the hypothesis that the Legis- " lative Body would have joined me; but you " know what line of conduct it pursued. I might " have dissolved it, to be sure. France and Europe " perhaps blame me, and posterity will doubtless

" blame my weakness, in not breaking up the " Legislative Body after its insurrection. It will " be said, that I ought not to have separated my- " self from the destinies of a people who had " done all for me. But by dissolving the Assem- " bly, I could at most have obtained only a capi- " tulation from the enemy. In that case, I again " repeat, blood must have been shed, and I must " have proved myself a tyrant. I had however " arranged a plan on the night of the 20th, and " on the 21st measures of the most rigid severity " were to have been adopted; but ere the return " of day, the dictates of humanity and prudence " warned me that such a course was not to be " thought of, that I should miss my aim, and that " every one was merely seeking blindly to ac- " commodate himself to circumstances. But I " must not begin again. I have already said too " much on a subject which always revives painful " recollections. I repeat once more that History " will decide."—The Emperor returned to his chamber desiring me to follow him . . . . . .

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4th. At 5 o'clock I went to meet the Emperor in the garden. He had taken too warm a bath, and in consequence found himself ill. We rode out in the calash, the weather was delightful: for several days it had been very warm and dry. Before dinner the Emperor dictated to the Grand

Marshal. Madame Bertrand dined at the Admiral's. The Emperor withdrew to his chamber immediately after dinner.

Characteristic Traits.

5th—8th. During these four days, the Emperor invariably rode out on horseback about six or seven in the morning, accompanied only by me and my son.

I am enabled to affirm, that I never saw Napoleon swayed either by passion or prejudice, that is to say, I never knew him to pronounce a judgment on men and things that was not dictated by reason. Even when he displays what perhaps may be called anger, it is merely the effect of transitory sensation, and never influences his actions; but I can truly say, that during the eighteen years in which I have had the opportunity of observing his character, I never knew him to act in contradiction to reason.

Another fact which has come to my knowledge, and which I note down here because it recurs to my memory at this moment, is that, either from nature, calculation, or the habit of preserving dignity, he for the most part represses and conceals the painful sensations which he experiences, and still more, perhaps, the kind emotions of his heart. I have frequently observed him repressing feelings of sensibility, as if he

thought they compromised his character. Of this I shall hereafter adduce proofs. Meanwhile the following characteristic trait so perfectly corresponds with the object of this journal, namely, that of showing the man as he really is, and siezing nature in the fact, that I cannot refrain from mentioning it.

For some days past, Napoleon seemed to have something deeply at heart. A domestic circumstance that had occurred, had vexed and ruffled him exceedingly. During the last three days, in our rides about the park, he several times alluded to this circumstance with considerable warmth, desiring me to keep close by his side, and ordering my son to ride on before. On one of these occasions the following observation escaped him:—"I know I am fallen. But to feel "this among you!" . . . These words, the gesture, the tone that accompanied them, pierced my very heart. I was ready to throw myself at his feet, and embrace his knees. "I know," continued he, "that man is frequently unrea-"sonable and susceptible. Thus, when I am "mistrustful of myself, I ask: should I have "been treated so at the Tuileries? This is my "sure test."

He then spoke of himself, of us, of our reciprocal relations, of our situation in the island, and the influence which our individual circumstances might enable us to exercise, &c. His

reflections on these subjects were numerous, powerful, and just. In the emotion with which this conversation inspired me, I exclaimed: "Sire, permit me to take this affair upon myself. "It certainly never could have been viewed in "this light. If the matter were explained, I "am sure it would excite deep sorrow and re-"pentance! I only ask permission to say a "single word." The Emperor replied with dignity:—"No, Sir; I forbid it. I have opened "my heart to you. Nature has had her course. "I shall forget it; and you must seem never "to have known it."

On our return we breakfasted all together in the garden, and the Emperor was more than usually cheerful. In the evening he dined in his own apartment.

Politics.—The state of Europe.—Irresistible ascendancy of liberal opinions.

9th—10th. On the 9th a ship arrived from England, bringing papers to the 21st of January. The Emperor continued his morning rides on horseback, and passed the rest of the day in examining the newspapers in his own chamber. The contents of these late papers were no less interesting than those which we had already examined. The agitation in France continued to increase; the King of Prussia had issued procla-

mations respecting secret societies; a misunderstanding had arisen between Austria and Bavaria; in England the persecution of the French Protestants, and the violence of the party which was gaining the ascendancy, agitated the public mind, and gave arms to the opposition. Europe never presented a more violent fermentation.

On hearing of the deluge of evils and sanguinary events which overwhelmed all the French departments, the Emperor rose from his couch, and stamping his foot violently on the ground, he exclaimed: "How unfortunate was I in not pro-
"ceeding to America! From the other hemi-
"sphere I might have protected France against
"re-action! The dread of my re-appearance
"would have been a check on their violence and
"folly. My name would have sufficed to bridle
"their excess, and to fill them with terror!"

Then continuing the same subject, he said with a degree of warmth, bordering on inspiration: "The counter-revolution, even had it been suf-
"fered to proceed, must inevitably have been
"lost in the grand revolution. The atmosphere
"of modern ideas is sufficient to stifle the old
"feudalists; for henceforth nothing can destroy
"or efface the grand principles of our revolu-
"tion. Those great and excellent truths can
"never cease to exist, so completely are they
"blended with our fame, our monuments, and
"our prodigies. We have washed away their

" first stains in the flood of glory, and they will " henceforth be immortal! Created in the French " tribune, cemented with the blood of battles, " adorned with the laurels of victory, saluted " with the acclamations of the people, sanctioned " by the treaties and alliances of Sovereigns, and " having become familiar to the ears as well as " in the mouths of Kings, these principles can " never again retrograde!

" Liberal ideas flourish in Great Britain, they " enlighten America, and they are nationalized in " France; and this may be called the tripod " whence issues the light of the world! Liberal " opinions will rule the universe. They will be- " come the faith, the religion, the morality of all " nations; and in spite of all that may be ad- " vanced to the contrary, this memorable era will " be inseparably connected with my name; for, " after all, it cannot be denied that I kindled the " torch and consecrated the principle, and now " persecution renders me the Messiah. Friends " and enemies, all must acknowledge me to be " the first soldier, the grand representative of the " age. Thus I shall for ever remain the leading " star." . . . . . .

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The Emperor's opinion of several celebrated men,—Pozzo di Borgo—Metternich—Bassano—Clarke—Cambacérès—Lebrun—Fouché, &c.

11th—12th. The Emperor took advantage of every fine morning to ride on horseback. He breakfasted in the garden; and the conversation was afterwards maintained with great freedom and interest on the events of his own private life, on public affairs, on the individuals who surrounded his person, and those who have played a conspicuous part in the other Courts of Europe.

The English lessons were no longer thought of; they were continued only in our rides or walks during the day time. What the Emperor thus lost in grammatical accuracy, he gained in facility of expression.

About five o'clock on the 11th, we took our usual airing in the calash. In the evening we resumed our ministerial anecdotes and conversations on celebrated persons. Napoleon gave us the history of M. Pozzo di Borgo, his countryman, who had been a Member of the Legislative Body. It was he, it is said, who advised the Emperor Alexander to march upon Paris, even though Napoleon should have attacked his rear. "And thus," said the Emperor, "he decided the "fate of France, of European civilization, and the "destinies of the whole world. He had acquired

great influence in the Russian Cabinet. On the 20th of March," continued the Emperor, ...

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He also gave us the history of M. Capo d'Istria. He then spoke of M. de Metternich. "It "was he," said Napoleon, "who . . . . . .

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The Emperor next spoke of his own Ministers; of Bassano, whom he believed to have been sincerely attached to him; Clarke, to whose character Time, he said, would do ample justice; C . . . . . whom late events had shown to have been worth but little. The Emperor had successively appointed him Ambassador to Vienna, Minister of the interior, and Minister for foreign affairs. Talleyrand, observed the Emperor, described his character in a word, when he said of him, with his usual point and ill-natured spirit, that he was a man who could make himself fit for any place on the eve of his appointment to it.

The conversation next turned on M. Cambacérès, whom Napoleon called the man of abuses; observing that he had a decided inclination for the old regime. Lebrun, on the contrary, had a predilection to the opposite extreme. He, said the Emperor, was the man of idealisms. These two men, he observed, were the counterpoises between which the First Consul had placed him-

self, who, in his turn, was humourously called *the consolidated third.*

MM. de T . . . . . and Fouché were next spoken of. After saying a great deal respecting both, the Emperor proceeded to make some energetic remarks on the morality of individuals connected with the ministry in France, and generally of all functionaries or men in office; on their want of political faith, or national feeling, which led them indifferently to adopt one line of conduct to-day, and another to-morrow. "This levity, this "inconsistency," said he, "has descended to us "from antiquity. We still remain Gauls, and "our character will never be complete until we "learn to substitute principles for turbulence, "pride for vanity, and above all, the love of in-"stitutions for the love of places."

The Emperor concluded, that at the close of our late events, the Monarchs of Europe must necessarily have retained a retrospective feeling of scorn and contempt for the great people who had thus sported with Sovereignty. "But," said he, "the excuse may perhaps be found in the "nature of things, and in the power of circum-"stances. Democracy raises up Sovereignty, "aristocracy preserves it. Mine had neither "taken a deep enough root, nor acquired suffi-"dient spirit. At the moment of the crisis it was "still connected with democracy; and it mingled "with the multitude instead of becoming the

" sheet anchor to shield the people from the fury " of the tempest, and to guide them in their blind- " ness."

The following are some fresh particulars respecting M. de T . . . . . and M. Fouché, whose names have so frequently been mentioned. I endeavour as much as possible to avoid repetitions.*

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* I must here once more apologize for the want of regularity and order, which my statements may present. I at first attempted to collect into one mass several scattered details, which were similar in their nature and subject. They would thus have presented greater connexion, force, and interest. But even this operation, simple and easy as it was, required more attention than my weak state of health would permit me to devote to it.

The same circumstance must also form an excuse for the extreme negligence of my language, and for the inaccuracies of all sorts which may be met with. But these are the points on which I feel the least anxiety, hoping that the importance of the subject, will make amends for the faultiness of the style.

The only point on which I could fully satisfy myself was that of curtailment; and I may fairly assert, that there is not a person who may think he has cause to complain, but is, on the contrary, in some degree indebted to me.

Having once adopted the system of abridgment, I was on the point of striking out all my own observations, reflections, and sentiments, with regard to Napoleon, and confining myself entirely to a simple statement of facts. I was fearful lest I might be accused of partial exaggeration, and I was well aware that an imputation of this kind, so easy to be made, would suffice in the eyes of many, to stigmatize my work and counteract my object. But, on the other hand, when I considered that a greater degree of circumspection and reserve would not be the means o.

"M. de T . . . . . ." said the Emperor, "waited two days and nights at Vienna for full "powers to treat for peace in my name; but I "should have been ashamed to have thus pros- "tituted my policy; and yet, perhaps, my con- "duct in this instance has purchased my exile "to St. Helena; for I cannot but allow that "T . . . . . is a man of singular talent, and "capable at all times of throwing great weight "into the scale.

"T . . . . . ." continued he, "was always "in a state treason; but it was in participation "with fortune. His circumspection was ex- "treme; he treated his friends as if they might

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convincing my readers, or of persuading them to adopt my opinions, I thought it would be useless to suppress the real sentiments of my heart, or to refrain from expressing my sincere and positive conviction. All that I have stated, I truly believed, and if I have been mistaken in that belief, I certainly have not been mistaken in the expression of it. Lastly, my determination was fixed by the consideration, that as so many have been influenced by passion in writing in a sense directly opposite, and have laboured hard to show the dark side of the picture, I may at least be allowed the gratification of showing it in a better point of view. I feel persuaded that all sensible and unprejudiced men, of every age and country, if actuated by the love of truth, will know how to divest these opposite accounts of their high colouring, and to come to a knowledge of plain facts. Imbued with this conviction, I leave my manuscript encumbered with all the sentiments which arose in my mind as I noted down the facts recorded in this Journal.

" in future become his enemies; and he behaved " to his enemies as if they might some time or " other become his friends. M. de T . . . . . " had always been, in my opinion, hostile to the " Faubourg St. Germain. In the affair of the " divorce, he was for the Empress Josephine. " It was he who urged the war with Spain, " though in public he had the art to appear " averse to it." Thus it was from a kind of spite that Napoleon made choice of Valencey as the residence of Ferdinand. " In short," said the Emperor, " T . . . . . was the principal " instrument and the active cause of the death " of the Duke d'Enghien."

Napoleon observed, that a celebrated actress (Mademoiselle Raucourt) had described him with great truth. " If you ask him a question, said " she, he is an iron chest, whence you cannot " extract a syllable; but if you ask him nothing, " you will soon be unable to stop his mouth—he " will become a regular gossip."

This was a foible, which, at the outset, destroyed the confidence of the Emperor, and made him waver in his opinion of T . . . . . " I " had entrusted him," said Napoleon, " with a " very important affair, and a few hours after " Josephine related it to me word for word. I " instantly sent for the Minister to inform him " that I had just learned from the Empress a cir- " cumstance which I had told in confidence to

" himself alone. The story had already passed " through four or five intermediate channels."

" T . . . . . 's countenance," added the Emperor, " is so immoveable, that nothing can " ever be read in it. Lannes and Murat used " jokingly to say of him that, if while he was " speaking to you some one should come behind " him and give him a kick, his countenance " would betray no indication of the affront."

M. de T . . . . . is mild and even endearing in his domestic habits. His servants, and the individuals in his employment, are attached and devoted to him. Among his intimate friends he willingly and good-humouredly speaks of his ecclesiastic profession. He one day expressed his dislike of a tune which was played in his hearing. He said he had a great horror of it; it recalled to his recollection the time when he was obliged to practise church-music, and to sing at the desk. On another occasion, one of his intimate friends was telling a story during supper, while M. de T . . . . . was engaged in thought, and seemed inattentive to the conversation. In the course of the story, the speaker happened to say in a lively manner of some one whom he had named, " That fellow is a comical " rogue; he is a married priest." T . . . . . roused by these words, seized a spoon, plunged it hastily into the dish before him, and with a threatening aspect called out to him, " Mr. Such-

" a-one, will you have some spinage?" The person who was telling the story was confounded, and all the party burst into a fit of laughter, M. de T . . . . . as well as the rest.

The Emperor, at the time of the Concordate, wished to have made M. de T . . . . . a Cardinal, and to have placed him at the head of ecclesiastical affairs. He told him that his proper destiny was to return to the bosom of the Church, to refresh his memory, and to stop the mouths of the declaimers. T . . . . . ., however, would never agree to this; his aversion to the ecclesiastical profession was insurmountable.

Napoleon was very near appointing him Ambassador to Warsaw, a dignity which he subsequently conferred on the Abbé de Pradt; but his shabby stock-jobbing tricks, as the Emperor called them, occasioned this intention to be abandoned. The Emperor was induced by the same reasons, and at the instance of several sovereigns of Germany, to deprive him of the portfolio of Foreign Affairs.

The Emperor remarked that Fouché was the T. . . . . of the clubs, and that T. . . . . was the Fouché of the drawing-rooms. " Intrigue," he said, " was to Fouché a necessary of life. He " intrigued at all times, in all places, in all ways, " and with all persons. Nothing ever came to " light, but he was found to have had a hand in " it. He made it his sole business to look out " for something that he might be meddling with.

" His mania was to wish to be concerned in every " thing . . . . ! Always in every body's shoes." This the Emperor would often repeat.

At the time of the conspiracy of Georges, when Moreau was arrested, Fouché was no longer at the head of the Police, and he endeavoured to make himself very much regretted. " What stupidity!" said he, " they have arrested " Moreau when he returned to Paris from his " country residence, a circumstance which at " least appeared like the confidence of innocence. " On the contrary, he should have been seized " when he went to Gros-Bois, for then he evi- " dently fled."

The remark which he made, or which is attributed to him in the affair of the Duke d'Enghien, is well known; " It is more than a crime, it is " a fault," said he. Such traits as these paint the character of a man better than whole volumes.

The Emperor knew Fouché well, and never became his dupe. He has been much blamed for having employed him in 1815, when indeed Fouché basely betrayed him. Napoleon was not ignorant of his disposition; but he also knew that the danger depended more on the circumstances than on the individual. " If I had " been victorious," said he, " Fouché would have " been faithful. He took great care, it is true, " to hold himself in readiness for whatever might " happen. I ought to have conquered!"

The Emperor, however, was acquainted with his underhand dealings, and he did not spare him. After Napoleon's return in 1815, one of the first bankers of Paris presented himself at the Elysée, to inform him that a few days previously a person just arrived from Vienna, had waited upon him with letters of credit, and had made enquiries respecting the means by which he could meet with Fouché. Whether from reflection or presentiment, the banker conceived some doubts respecting this individual, and accordingly came to communicate them in person to the Emperor, who was astonished that Fouché had concealed the matter from his knowledge. In the course of a few hours Réal found the person in question, and immediately brought him to the Elysée, where he was shut up in a small room by himself. The Emperor ordered him to be brought into the garden. "Do you know "me?" said he to the man. This commencement, and the feelings which the Emperor's presence inspired, greatly startled the stranger. "I "am acquainted with all your proceedings," continued Napoleon, in a tone of severity; "if "you this moment confess all you know, I may "pardon you; if not, you will be taken from this "garden to be shot."—"I will tell all," said the man. "I am sent hither by M. de Metternich "to the Duke of Otranto, to propose that he will "despatch a messenger to Bâle, who will there

" meet the messenger sent by M. de Metternich " from Vienna. These," continued he, delivering some papers, " are the marks of recognition " which they are to possess."—" Have you exe- " cuted your mission to Fouché?" enquired the Emperor.—" Yes."—" Has he despatched his " messenger?"—" I do not know." The man was put under confinement, and within an hour a confidential person (M. F. . . . .) was on the road to Bâle. He introduced himself to the Austrian messenger, and even held four conferences with him.

Meanwhile Fouché, who was uneasy at the non-appearance of his Vienna messenger, one day waited on the Emperor, and attempted with an air of gaiety and cheerfulness to conceal his extreme embarrassment. " There were several " looking-glasses," said the Emperor, " in the " apartment, and I was much amused in studying " him by stealth; the expression of his coun- " tenance was hideous; he did not know how " to enter upon the subject which interested " him so deeply."—" Sire," said he at length, " a circumstance occurred to me four or five " days ago, which I fear I was wrong in not com- " municating to your Majesty. . . . . But I have " so much business on my hands . . . . . I am " surrounded with so many reports, so many in- " trigues. . . . A man came to me from Vienna " with most ridiculous propositions, . . . and he

" is now no where to be found!"—" M. Fouché," said the Emperor, " you may injure yourself, if " you take me for a fool. I have secured the " man you speak of, and I have known the whole " intrigue for several days. Have you sent to " Bâle?"—" No, Sire."—" That is fortunate for " you. If it be otherwise, and I obtain proofs " of it, it may cost you your life."

Subsequent events have proved that this would have been but justice. It appears, however, that Fouché had not sent, and here the business ended.

Papers from Europe.—Political Reflections.

13th.—The Emperor breakfasted in the garden, and sent for us all to attend him. He resumed the reading of the papers which we had glanced at in the morning, and then proceeded to expatiate on political affairs. The following observations are those which most forcibly struck me.

" On the 13th Vendemiaire, the inhabitants of " Paris were completely disgusted with the Go- " vernment," said the Emperor; " but the whole " of the army, the great majority of the popu- " lation of the departments, the lower class of " citizens, and the peasantry, remained attached " to it. Thus the Revolution triumphed over " this grand attack of the counter-revolution, " though it was only four or five years since the " new principles had been promulgated. The

" most frightful and calamitous scenes had been
" witnessed; and a happier future was anti-
" cipated."

" But now how altered is the case! . . . . . .
" If the soldier in his barracks seek to wile away
" the tedious hours in talking of battles, he cannot
" speak of Fontenoy or Prague which he did not
" witness; he must speak of the victories of Ma-
" rengo, Austerlitz, and Jena; of him who gained
" them; in short, of me, whose fame fills every
" mouth, and lives in every heart.

" Such a situation is unexampled in history.
" On whichever side it is viewed, nothing but
" misfortunes present themselves. What will be
" the result of this? . . . . . Two classes of peo-
" ple, inhabitants of the same soil, will become
" mortal, irreconcilable enemies, will be inces-
" santly disputing, and will, perhaps, finally ex-
" terminate each other.

" The same fury will soon spread through
" Europe. The whole Continent will be com-
" posed of two hostile parties; it will be no longer
" divided by nations and territories, but by party-
" colours and opinions. Who can foresee the
" crisis, the duration, the details of so many
" troubles! The event cannot be doubtful. The
" present enlightened age will not retrograde in
" knowledge! . . . . . How unfortunate was
" my fall! . . . . . I had imprisoned the winds;
" but bayonets have released them. I could have

" proceeded tranquilly in the universal regenera-
" tion, which can henceforth be effected only
" amidst storms! My object was to amalgamate;
" others, perhaps, will extirpate!"

The Governor's Arrival.

14th.—The rainy weather had returned; for two days it had been miserably wet. Some vessels appeared in sight; and we learnt by signals that they brought the new Governor, Sir Hudson Lowe.

The Emperor was silent and melancholy during dinner. He was not well, and he retired very early.

The Emperor's progress in learning English.

15th.—About 12 o'clock this morning I received four letters from Europe, which rendered me as happy as I could possibly be in this place.

I saw the Emperor at five o'clock in the garden. He had taken advantage of an interval of fine weather; the rain had been pouring the whole of the day. I communicated to him the contents of my letters. All our party had received communications from Europe. They were delivered to us open, and they contained no news; but they proved that our friends still remembered us, and in our situation such an assurance was peculiarly gratifying.

During dinner, the Emperor described to us

the contents of some French papers which he had by him, and which, he said, gave an account of the shipwreck of La Perouse, his different adventures, his death, and his journal, &c. The narrative consisted of the most curious, striking, and romantic details, and interested us exceedingly. The Emperor observed how highly our curiosity was excited, and then burst into a fit of laughter. This story was nothing but an impromtu of his own, which he said he had invented merely to show us the progress he had made in English.

The Governor's first visit.—Declaration required from us.

16th.—The new Governor arrived at Longwood about ten o'clock, notwithstanding the rain which still continued. He was accompanied by the Admiral, who was to introduce him, and who had, no doubt, told him that this was the most suitable hour for his visit. The Emperor did not receive him; he was indisposed, and even had he been well, he would not have seen him. The Governor, by this abrupt visit, neglected the usual forms of decorum. It was easy to perceive that this was a trick of the Admiral. The Governor, who probably had no intention to render himself at all disagreeable, appeared very much disconcerted. We laughed in our sleeves. As for the Admiral, he was quite triumphant.

The Governor, after long hesitation and very evident marks of ill-humour, took his leave rather abruptly. We doubted not that this visit had been planned by the Admiral, with the view of prepossessing us against each other at the very outset. But whether the Governor himself had any concern in it, or entertained any suspicion of its design, is a question which time will decide.

About half-past five the Emperor sent for me to attend him in the garden. He was alone. He told me that a circumstanee had arisen which regarded us all individually. It had been determined to require a declaration from each of us, stating whether we preferred uniting our fate to that of the Emperor, to being removed from St. Helena and set at liberty.

We could not guess the motive of this determination. Was it adopted by the English Ministry for the sake of procuring regular documents? But at the time of our departure from Plymouth, this preliminary condition was perfectly understood. Was it hoped by this means to separate the Emperor more completely from the world? But could it ever be supposed that we would forsake him?

He asked what would be my determination on this point. I replied, that it could not be for a moment doubtful; that if I ever felt a pang, it must have been at the moment of my first determination; that from that instant my fate had been

irrevocably fixed. I had at first obeyed only the dictates of glory and honour; but in every succeeding day I had indulged my natural affection and feelings. The Emperor's voice assumed a milder tone; and this was the mode in which he expressed his thanks. I knew his heart, and the full extent of his gratitude!

I added, that there was but little merit in my resolution. No change could take place in our situations. The day after having signed the document we should be the same as we had been the day before. Our fate depended not on human combinations, but on the course of events. It would be very unwise to add to our troubles by calculations beyond the reach of human foresight. It is our duty tranquilly to resign ourselves to the mysterious decrees of Fate; and in the depth of our misfortune, to comfort ourselves with the reflection that our minds are free from self-reproach. This is a consolation which it is beyond the power of man to enfeeble or to destroy.

Characteristic conversation.—The Emperor's return from Elba foreseen at the time of his departure from Fontainbleau.—The Governor's introduction.—Mortification experienced by the Admiral.—Our causes of complaint against him.—Description of Sir Hudson Lowe.

17th.—The Emperor sent for me at nine o'clock. He read to me an article in the Portsmouth Cou-

rier, which gave a very long and faithful description of his residence at Briars.

He sent for me again in the middle of the day to converse with him. One part of the conversation affords so valuable a development of Napoleon's character, that I cannot refrain from noting down some passages of it.

There occasionally arose among us transient misunderstandings and disputes, which vexed and annoyed the Emperor. He adverted to this topic. He analysed our situation with his usual train of reasoning. He calculated the miseries and horrors of our exile, and pointed out the best mode of alleviating them. He said we ought to make mutual sacrifices, and overlook many grievances; that man can only enjoy life by controling the character given to him by nature, or by creating to himself a new one by education, and learning to modify it according to the obstacles which he may encounter.

"You should endeavour to form but one family," said he. "You have followed me only with the "view of assuaging my sorrow. Ought not this "feeling to subdue every other consideration? If "sympathy alone is not sufficiently powerful, "let reason be your guide. You should learn to "calculate your sorrows, your sacrifices, and "your enjoyments, in order to arrive at a result, "just as we make additions or subtractions in every "kind of calculation. All the circumstances of our

" lives should be submitted to this rule. . . . .
" We must learn to conquer ill temper. It is
" natural enough that little misunderstandings
" should arise among you; but they should be
" followed by explanation, and not succeeded by
" ill-humour; the former will produce a result, the
" latter will only render the affair more compli-
" cated. Reason, and logical inference, should
" in this world be our constant guides." He then proceeded to show how he had sometimes acted up to these principles, and sometimes departed from them. He added, that we ought to learn to forgive, and to avoid that hostility and acrimony, which must be offensive to our neighbours and prejudicial to our own happiness; that we ought to make allowance for human frailties, and humour rather than oppose them.

" What would have become of me," said he,
" had I not followed these maxims? It has often
" been said that I have been too good-natured,
" and not sufficiently cautious; but it would have
" been much worse for me, had my disposition
" been the reverse of what it is. I have been
" twice betrayed it is true; and I may be be-
" trayed a third time. But still it was my know-
" ledge of human character, and the spirit of
" reasonable indulgence which I had adopted,
" that enabled me to govern France; and which
" still perhaps render me the fittest person to rule
" that nation, under existing circumstances. On

" my departure from Fontainbleau, did I not say " to all who requested me to point out the line " of conduct they should pursue, ... Go, and " serve the King! . . . I wished to grant them " lawful authority for doing what many would " not have hesitated to do of their own accord. I " would not allow the fidelity of some to be the " cause of their ruin; and finally, above all, I did " not wish to have any one to censure on my " return."

I here ventured, contrary to my constant custom, to call the Emperor, in some measure, to account. " How, Sire," I exclaimed, " had your " Majesty any idea of returning when you left " Fontainbleau?"—" Yes, certainly, and by the " simplest reasoning. If the Bourbons, said I, " intend to commence a fifth dynasty, I have " nothing more to do here; I have acted my part. " But if they should obstinately attempt to re- " continue the third, I shall soon appear again. " It may be said, that the Bourbons then had my " fame and conduct at their own disposal. It " was in their power still to represent me to the " eyes of the common mass of mankind, as an " upstart, a tyrant, a firebrand, and a scourge. " How much good sense and calm reflection " would have been necessary to appreciate my " real character, and render me justice! . . . But " the men by whom the Bourbons were sur- " rounded, and the erroneous line of conduct they

" pursued, rendered my presence desirable; they " restored my popularity and decreed my return. " I should otherwise have ended my days on the " Island of Elba, and this would doubtless have " proved most to the interest of all parties. I " returned to discharge a great debt, and not for " the sake of resuming possession of a throne. " Perhaps few will comprehend the motive by " which I was actuated; no matter for that. I " took upon myself a heavy charge, but it was a " duty I owed to the French people. Their com- " plaints reached me; and how could I turn a " deaf ear to them?

" Upon the whole, my situation at the Island " of Elba was sufficiently enviable and agreeable. " I should soon have created to myself a new kind " of sovereignty. All that was most distinguished " in Europe, was about to pass in review before " me. I should have presented a spectacle un- " known in history: that of a monarch descended " from his throne, beholding the civilized world " defile before him.

" It may indeed be affirmed, that the Allies " would have removed me from my Island; and I " admit that this circumstance hastened my re- " turn. But had France been wisely governed, " had the French people been content, my influ- " ence would have ended; I should henceforth " have belonged only to history, and the cabinet " of Vienna would have entertained no idea of

" deposing me. It was the agitation created and " maintained in France, that first gave rise to the " thought of my removal."

Here the Grand Marshal entered the Emperor's apartment. He came to announce the arrival of the Governor, who was escorted by the Admiral, and followed by the whole of his staff.

After some further conversation, Bertrand was left alone with the Emperor, and I proceeded to the antichamber;* here all the suite was assembled. We endeavoured to exchange a few words with each other; but we were rather bent on observing than conversing.

In about half an hour, the Emperor entered the drawing-room. The valet de chambre on duty, who was stationed at the door within the apartment, then summoned the Governor, and he was introduced. The Admiral was following close behind him. The valet, who had heard only the Governor's name mentioned, suddenly closed the door without admitting the Admiral, who was shut out in spite of his remonstrance; and he withdrew quite disconcerted into the recess of one of the windows. The valet de chambre who was the cause of this affront, was Noverraz, a Swiss, a good and faithful servant, of whom the Emperor frequently said, that his whole understanding was absorbed in his attachment to his master.

* See the plan of Longwood.

We were astonished at this unexpected occurrence; and we at first concluded that Noverraz had acted in obedience to the Emperor's wishes. Though we had ample reason to complain of the Admiral, yet we did all in our power to relieve him from his embarrassment; his awkward situation distressed us. Meanwhile, the Governor's staff was summoned and introduced; and this circumstance served only to increase the Admiral's confusion. In about a quarter of an hour the Emperor took leave of his visitors. The Governor came out of the drawing-room, and the Admiral eagerly advanced to meet him. They said a few words to each other with some degree of warmth, then took leave of us and departed.

We joined the Emperor in the garden, and our conversation turned on the Admiral's discomfiture. The Emperor knew nothing of the matter. The whole circumstance was solely the effect of chance. The Emperor declared himself delighted with the joke. He burst into a fit of laughter, rubbed his hands, and exhibited the joy of a child, of a schoolboy who had successfully played off a trick on his master. "Ah! my good Noverraz," said he, "you have done a clever thing for once in "your life. He had heard me say that I would "not see the Admiral again, and he thought he "was bound to shut the door in his face. But "this honest Swiss may perhaps carry the joke too "far: if I were unfortunately to say we must get

" rid of the Governor, he would be for assassin-
" ating him before my eyes. After all," said the Emperor, assuming a more serious tone, " it was
" entirely the Governor's fault. He should have
" requested that the Admiral might be admitted,
" particularly as he had informed me that he could
" be presented only by him. Why, again, did he
" not request the Admiral's admission when he
" presented his officers to me? He is solely to
" blame. But," continued he, " the Admiral has
" lost nothing by the mistake. I should without he-
" sitation have apostrophized him in the presence
" of his countrymen. I should have told him,
" that by the sentiment attached to the honour-
" able uniform which we had both worn for forty
" years, I accused him of having, in the eyes of
" the world, degraded his nation and his Sove-
" reign by wantonly and stupidly failing in re-
" spect to one of the oldest soldiers in Europe.
" I should have reproached him with landing me
" at St. Helena just as he would have landed a
" convict at Botany-Bay. I should have assured
" him, that a man of true honour would show me
" more respect on my rock, than if I were still on
" my throne and surrounded by my armies." The force and spirit of these remarks put a period to our gaiety, and closed the conversation.

As I have thus alluded to the Admiral, and as he is now about to quit us, I will once for all sum up the insults with which we have to reproach

him, with as much impartiality as our situation and the state of our feelings will admit of.

We cannot pardon the affected familiarity with which he treated us, though our conduct afforded but little encouragement to it. Still less can we forgive him for having endeavoured to extend this familiarity to the Emperor. We can never forget the haughty and self-complacent air with which he addressed Napoleon by the title of *General*. The Emperor, it is true, has immortalized that title; but the tone and the intention with which it was applied were sufficiently insulting.

On our arrival at St. Helena, he lodged the Emperor in a little room, a few feet square, where he kept him for two months, though other residences could have been procured, and there was one which the Admiral had himself fixed upon. He indirectly prohibited the Emperor from riding on horseback, even in the grounds surrounding the Briars; and the individuals of the Emperor's suite were loaded with embarrassments and humiliations, when they came to pay their daily visits to him in his little cell.

On our removal to Longwood, he stationed sentinels under the very windows of the Emperor; and then by an evasion, which savoured of the bitterest irony, he alleged that this step had been taken only with a view to the *General's* own advantage and protection. He suffered no one to come near us without a note from him, and hav-

ing thus placed us in close confinement, he declared that these arrangements had been made only to secure the Emperor against importunity, and that he (the Admiral) was merely acting the part of *Grand Marshal*. He gave a ball, and sent a written invitation to *General Bonaparte*, in the same manner as he did to every individual in the suite. He replied with the most unbecoming jeers to the notes of the Grand Marshal, who used the title of *Emperor*, saying that he knew no *Emperor* at the Island of St. Helena, nor any such Sovereign in Europe, or elsewhere, who was not in his own dominions. He refused to forward a letter from the Emperor to the Prince Regent, unless it were delivered to him open, or he were permitted to read it. He even stifled the sentiments and expressions of respect, which other individuals manifested to Napoleon. We were assured that he had put persons in inferior situations under arrest, merely for having used the title of Emperor, or other similar expressions; which, however, were frequently employed in the 53d regiment, doubtless, as the Emperor observed, through an irresistible sentiment with which these brave men were inspired.

The Admiral, from his own personal caprice, had limited the extent of our rides and walks. On this subject he had even broken his word to the Emperor. At a moment when he appeared somewhat inclined to make concessions, he had assured Napoleon that he was free to ride in all parts

of the Island, without being annoyed even by the sight of the English officer appointed to guard him. But a few days after this, just as Napoleon was on the point of mounting his horse to ride out to breakfast in a shady spot at some distance from our residence, he found himself under the necessity of renouncing this little enjoyment. The officer declared that he must henceforth form one of the party, and ride close to him. From that moment the Emperor refused seeing the Admiral. The latter had moreover neglected the most ordinary forms of decorum, always fixing upon unsuitable hours for his own visits, and directing strangers who arrived at the Island to select the same unseasonable periods for visiting the Emperor. This was no doubt done with the view of preventing people from gaining access to Napoleon, who constantly refused to be seen on these occasions. It has already been stated, that the Admiral acted thus when the Governor made his first visit to Longwood; and the satisfaction he evinced at the Governor's ill reception, but too plainly betrayed his design.

However, if we were required to pronounce an impartial opinion on him, making allowance for the irritability of our own feelings, and the delicacy of his situation, we should not hesitate to declare, that our grievances rested in forms rather than facts. We should say with the Emperor, who had after all a natural predilection for him, that Admiral Cockburn is far from being an ill-

disposed man, that he is even susceptible of generous and delicate sentiment; but that he is capricious, irascible, vain, and overbearing: that he is a man who is accustomed to authority, and who exercises it ungraciously; frequently substituting energy for dignity. To express in a few words the nature of our relations with respect to him, we should say, that as a jailor, he was mild, humane and generous, and that we have reason to be grateful to him; but that as a host, he was generally unpolite, often something worse, and that in this character we have cause to be displeased with him.

About two or three o'clock, the Emperor took his usual airing. During our walk in the garden and our ride in the calash, he said a good deal about the events of the morning; and the conversation on this subject was resumed after dinner. Some one jokingly observed, that the two first days of the Governor's arrival had been like days of battle, and were calculated to make us appear very untractable, though we were naturally most patient and accommodating. At these last words, the Emperor smiled and pinched the ear of the individual who made the remark.

The conversation then turned on Sir Hudson Lowe. He was described as being a man about 45 years of age; of the usual height, and of slender make, with red hair, a ruddy complexion and freckled. His eyes were said to have an oblique

kind of expression; glancing askance, seldom fixed full in a person's face; surmounted by fair, bushy, and very prominent eyebrows. "He is "hideous," said the Emperor, "he has a most "villainous countenance. But we must not de- "cide too hastily; the man's disposition may "perhaps make amends for the unfavourable im- "pression which his face produces; this is not "impossible."

Convention of the Sovereigns respecting Napoleon.—Remarkable observations.

18th. The weather had been horrible for some days past, but it cleared up a little to-day. The Emperor went out early to take his walk in the garden; about 4 o'clock he got into the calash and took rather a longer airing than usual. Before dinner the Emperor desired me to translate to him the Convention of the Allied Sovereigns relative to his captivity. It was as follows:—

Convention between Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia. Signed at Paris, August 20th, 1815.

"Napoleon Bonaparte being in the power of the Allied Sovereigns, their Majesties the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, have agreed, by virtue of the stipulations of the treaty of the 25th of

March, 1815, on the measures best calculated to preclude the possibility of his making any attempt to disturb the peace of Europe.

"Art. I.—Napoleon Bonaparte is considered by the Powers who signed the treaty of the 20th of March last, as their prisoner.

"Art. II.—His safeguard is specially intrusted to the British Government.

"The choice of the place and the measures which may best ensure the object of the present stipulation, are reserved to his Britannic Majesty.

"Art. III.—The Imperial courts of Austria and Russia, and the Royal court of Prussia shall appoint Commissioners to reside in the place which his Britannic Majesty's Government shall assign as the residence of Napoleon Bonaparte, and who, without being responsible for his security, shall assure themselves of his presence.

"Art. IV.—His most Christian Majesty is invited in the name of the four Courts above mentioned, also to send a French commissioner to the place of Napoleon Bonaparte's detention.

"Art. V.—His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, pledges himself to fulfil the engagements assigned to him by the present convention.

"Art. VI.—The present convention shall be ratified, and the ratification shall be exchanged in the space of a fortnight, or sooner if possible.

"In virtue of which the respective Plenipo-

tentiaries have signed the present convention, and have affixed their seals thereto.

" Given at Paris on the 20th of August, in the year of our Lord 1815."

When I had finished translating this document, the Emperor asked me what I thought of it.

" Sire," I replied, " in the situation in which " we are placed, I would rather depend on the " interests of a single one, than on the compli- " cated decision of four. England has evidently " dictated this treaty. You see how carefully " she stipulates that she alone will answer for " and dispose of the prisoner. She has been " labouring to provide herself with the lever of " Archimedes, and therefore it is not probable " that she will entertain any idea of breaking it."

The Emperor, without explaining his ideas on this subject, adverted to the different chances which might bring about his liberation from St. Helena, and he made the following remarkable observations: " If the Sovereigns of Europe act wisely, " and should succeed in completely restoring order, " we shall not be worth the money and the " trouble which it must cost to keep us here, and " they will get rid of us. But our captivity may " still be prolonged for some years, perhaps " three, four, or five. Otherwise, setting aside " the fortuitous events which are beyond the " reach of human foresight, I calculate only on " two uncertain chances of our liberation: first,

" that the Sovereigns may stand in need of me to " assist in putting down rebellion among their " subjects; and secondly, the people of Europe " may require my aid in the contest that may " arise between them and their monarchs. I am " the natural arbiter and mediator in the immense " conflict between the present and the past. I " have always aspired to be the supreme judge " in this cause. My administration at home and " my diplomacy abroad, all tended to this great " end. The issue might have been brought about " more easily and promptly; but fate ordained " otherwise. Finally, there is a last chance, " which perhaps is the most probable of all; I " may be wanted to check the power of the " Russians; for in less than ten years, all Europe " may perhaps be overrun with Cossacks, or " subject to republican government. Such how- " ever are the statesmen who brought about my " overthrow . . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . ."

Then reverting to the decision of the Sovereigns respecting him, he observed it was difficult to account for the style of the document, and the malignant spirit that pervaded it.

" The *Emperor Francis*," said he, " is a pious " sovereign, and I am his son-in-law.—As for " *Alexander*, we once loved each other. With re-

" gard to the *King of Prussia*, I doubtless did " him much harm, but I might have done him " much more; and after all, might he not have " found real glory and self-satisfaction in dis- " tinguishing himself by generosity? As to *Eng- " land*, it is to the animosity of her Ministers that " I am indebted for all. But it remained for the " Prince Regent to observe and interfere, or to " be branded as a fool, and a protector of vulgar " malignity.—One thing however is certain, " namely: that the Allied Sovereigns have com- " promised, degraded, and lost themselves, by " their treatment of me."

The Declaration required from us by the Governor.

19th.—This morning the Grand Marshal and Madame Bertrand came into the garden, in consequence of the Emperor having expressed an intention of breakfasting there; but as he had passed a very restless night, and had had no sleep, he breakfasted in his chamber.

The Governor gave us official notice that we must each send him a declaration, expressing our voluntary determination to remain at Longwood, and to submit to all the restrictions which Napoleon's captivity might require. Mine was as follows:—

Declaration.—" I, the undersigned, repeat the declaration which I made when in Plymouth-

roads; namely, that I wish to devote myself to the fate of the Emperor Napoleon, to accompany him, to follow him, and to alleviate as far as lies in my power the unjust treatment he experiences, through the most unheard-of violation of the law of nations, of which I am the more particularly sensible, as it was I who conveyed to him the offer and assurance of Captain Maitland of the Bellerophon, purporting that he had orders to receive the Emperor and his Suite, under the protection of the British flag, if agreeable to him, and to convey him to England.

" The Emperor Napoleon's letter to the Prince Regent, which is known to all England, and which I had previously communicated to Captain Maitland, without his having made the slightest observation on it, explains to the world much better than any thing I can say, how frankly the Emperor met this offer of hospitality, and, consequently, how much he has been the dupe of his sincerity and confidence.

" Notwithstanding the experience I have had of the horrors of a residence on the Island of St. Helena, which is so prejudicial to the Emperor's health, and to that of every European, and though, during the six months which we have passed on the island, I have been subjected to every species of privations, which I myself daily multiply, in order to avoid, as much as possible, the violation of that respect which my rank and ha-

bits demand, yet constant to my first sentiments, and resolved that for the future no fear of misfortune, or hope of advantage, shall separate me from the Emperor Napoleon, I repeat my desire to remain with him, and to submit to whatever restrictions may be arbitrarily imposed on him."

Farewell visit of the late Governor.—Interesting conversation.—Remark of an old English soldier.

20th.—Colonel Wilks being on the eve of his departure for Europe, called with his daughter to take leave of the Emperor. The young lady was presented by Madame Bertrand. I have already mentioned that Colonel Wilks had formerly been Governor of the Colony, for the East India Company; he was succeeded by the Admiral in the King's name, when, in consequence of our removal to St. Helena, the island was transferred from the possession of the Company to that of the Government.

The Emperor was in a remarkably cheerful humour. He conversed for some time with the ladies, and then took Col. Wilks aside to the recess of one of the windows, whither I followed to serve as interpreter.

Col. Wilks, as I have probably mentioned before, was for a long time the diplomatic agent of the Company in the Indian Peninsula; he has written a history of those regions. He is a man

of extensive information, and possesses great knowledge of chemistry. Thus he was at once a soldier, an author, a diplomatist, and a chemist. The Emperor put questions to him relative to all these subjects, and treated them himself with great fluency and spirit. The conversation was lively and varied; and it was maintained for upwards of two hours. The following are the principal particulars which I noted down. I shall probably in some measure repeat what I have said before, for the Emperor and Colonel Wilks had some months ago a long conversation on precisely the same topics; but that is of no importance; these subjects are so interesting, that I would rather incur the risk of repeating, than of losing any thing connected with them.

The Emperor began by speaking of the English army, its organization, and particularly its system of promotion. He compared it with the French army, and repeated what I have formerly stated with regard to the excellent composition of our military force, the advantage of the Conscription, and the bravery of our troops. Then, turning to the subject of politics, he said, "You lost "America by affranchisement; you will lose "India by invasion. The first loss was per-"fectly natural; as children advance in years, "they break their parental bonds. But, for the "Hindoos, they are not advancing at all. They "still remain children. The catastrophe, there-

" fore can only proceed from without. You are " not aware of all the dangers with which you " were threatened by my arms or my negotia- " tions. As for my Continental system, you " perhaps laughed at it?" " Sire," replied the " Colonel, " we affected to do so, but all men of " judgment felt the full force of it."—" Well," " continued the Emperor, " I stood alone in my " opinion on the Continent; and I was forced for " the moment to employ violence every where. " At length my plan began to be understood. " The tree already bears its fruit. I made the " beginning; time will do the rest . . . . . Had " I maintained my power, I would have changed " the course of trade, and the direction of indus- " try. I had naturalized sugar and indigo in " France, and I should have naturalized cotton, " and many other articles of foreign produce. " I should have knocked up the Colonies, if we " had continued to be denied a share of them.

" With us the impulse was most powerful. Na- " tional prosperity and science advanced beyond " measure. Yet your Ministers proclaimed through " all Europe that the French were overwhelmed " with misery, and were retrograding to a state of " barbarism. Thus the view of our internal pros- " perity strangely surprised the vulgar mass, and " even disconcerted the more thinking portion of " the European public. The strides of knowledge " in France were gigantic. The ideas of the

" French people were every where properly di-
" rected and extended. We took pains to render
" science popular. I was informed that your
" countrymen were distinguished for their know-
" ledge of chemistry; and yet I will not decide
" on which side of the water the most able che-
" mists will be found."—" In France," said the Colonel immediately.

" It is of little importance," continued the Emperor; " but I maintain that in the mass of
" the French people there is ten, and perhaps a
" hundred times more chemical knowledge than
" in England; because the manufacturing classes
" now employ that science in their daily labour.
" This was one of the characteristics of my
" school. Had I been allowed sufficient time,
" there would soon have been no such thing as
" trades in France; they would all have been
" converted into arts."

The Emperor concluded with these remarkable observations: " England and France held in their
" hands the fate of the world; and particularly
" that of European civilization. What injury did
" we not do each other! . . . What good might
" we not have done! Under Pitt's system we
" desolated the world; and what has been the
" result? You imposed on France a tax of fifteen
" hundred millions of francs, and raised it by
" means of Cossacks. I laid a tax of seven
" thousand millions on you, and made you raise

" it with your own hands, by your Parlia-
" ment. Even now, after the victory you have
" obtained, who can tell whether you may not
" sooner or later sink under the weight of such a
" burden? . . . . With Fox's system, we should
" have understood each other . . . . . , we should
" have accomplished and preserved the emanci-
" pation of nations, the dominion of principles.
" Europe would have presented but a single
" fleet, and a single army. We might have ruled
" the world. We might every where have esta-
" blished peace and prosperity, either by dint of
" force or persuasion . . . . . Yes, I
" repeat, what mischief have we not done! What
" good might we not have effected!"

Never was Napoleon in a more talkative humour. He laughed more than once at the endeavours I made to interpret his observations amidst the volubility with which he uttered them. As for the Colonel, he took his leave, amazed and confounded by what he had heard.

When he was gone, the Emperor continued to converse for a long time in the drawing-room. He afterwards went into the garden in spite of the bad weather, and sent for us all to join him. He was desirous of reading the declarations which we had made; they became the subject of conversation.

Four ships arrived here to-day from Europe. They had on board the 66th regiment, and had

left England before the Phaëton, which brought the new Governor, Sir Hudson Lowe.

After dinner, the Emperor good-humouredly related the remark made by an old soldier of the 53d, who, having seen him yesterday for the first time, went back to his comrades and said,—"What lies "they told me about Napoleon's age; he is not "old at all; the rogue has at least sixty cam- "paigns in his body yet." We thought this expression savoured very much of the Frenchman, and we laid claim to it as having proceeded from one of our grenadiers. We then related to him a number of *bons-mots* made by our soldiers during his absence and on his return, with which he was much entertained. But what particularly excited his risibility was the answer made by a grenadier at Lyons. A grand review was held there, just after the Emperor had landed on his return from Elba. The Commanding Officer remarked to his soldiers, that they were well clothed and well fed, that their pay might be seen upon their persons;—"Yes, certainly," replied the grenadier to whom he addressed himself.—"Well!" continued the Officer, with a confident air, "it was "not so under Bonaparte. Your pay was in ar- "rears, he was in your debt?"—"And what did "that signify," said the grenadier smartly, "if "we chose to give him credit?"

The Emperor's message to the Prince Regent.—Characteristic remarks.—Portfolio lost at Waterloo.—On Ambassadors.—M. de Narbonne.—Napoleon on the point of being taken prisoner in Germany after the battle of Moscow.—Cost of the Emperor's toilette.—Expense of a family establishment in the different capitals of Europe.—The furnishing of Napoleon's house in the Rue de la Victoire.—The fitting up of the Imperial Palaces.—The Emperor's method of examining his accounts.

21st.—The Emperor sent for me to attend him in the garden, about four o'clock, to act as interpreter. Captain Hamilton, the Commander of the frigate Havannah, was to sail next day for Europe, and with his officers had come to take leave of the Emperor. Captain Hamilton spoke French. When I joined the party in the garden, the Emperor was expressing himself with warmth.

"They wish to know what I desire?" said he; "I demand my liberty or my death. Report "these words to your Prince Regent. I no longer "ask to hear from my Son, since they have had "the barbarity to leave my first request unan- "swered. . . . . I was not your prisoner. Sa- "vages would have had more respect for my si- "tuation. Your Ministers have basely violated "in my person the sacred rights of hospitality; "they have for ever dishonoured England!"

Captain Hamilton having ventured to observe that Napoleon was not the prisoner of England

alone, but of all the Allied Powers, the Emperor warmly resumed; "I did not deliver myself up "to Russia, there I should doubtless have been "well received; I did not surrender myself to "Austria, there I should have been equally well "treated; but I delivered myself up, of my own "free will and choice, to England, because I had "confidence in her laws and her public morals. "I have been cruelly deceived! But Heaven will "avenge my wrongs, and sooner or later you "will meet the punishment of a deed for which "mankind already reproaches you! . . . . . "Repeat all this to the Prince Regent, Sir." He accompanied these last words with a motion of his hand, and dismissed the Captain.

We walked about for a few minutes, and on the return of the Grand Marshal, who had accompanied Captain Hamilton a short distance, we thought it would be proper to leave him alone with the Emperor; but I had scarcely entered my room when he sent for me. He was alone in his own apartment; he asked me whether I had not had enough of retirement during the day. I told him that a feeling of respect and discretion had alone induced me to leave him. To this he answered, that there was no occasion for it, as nothing had passed that he wished to make a secret of. "Besides," added he, "a certain de- "gree of freedom and ease is not without its "charm." These words, which fell carelessly

from Napoleon's mouth, may better serve to show his character than hundreds of pages.

We then perused an English publication, containing the official documents found in the Portfolio, which was taken from Napoleon at Waterloo. The Emperor was astonished himself at the number of orders which he had issued almost at the same moment, and the countless details which he had directed in every quarter of the empire. "This publication," said he, "can do me no harm, after "all. It will at least satisfy every one that its "contents are not the production of a sluggard. "They will compare me with the legitimate Sove-"reigns, and I shall not suffer by the compa-"rison."

After dinner, the Emperor conversed on several unconnected subjects. In speaking of his Ambassadors, he said he considered M. de Narbonne as the only one who had fully deserved that title, and had really fulfilled the duties of his office. "And that," said he, "by the peculiar "advantages, not only of his talent, but of his "old-fashioned morals, his manners, and his name. "When an Ambassador has merely to prescribe, "any one may fill the post; one person is just "as good as another; perhaps an aide-de-camp "is the best man that can be chosen. But when "it is necessary to negotiate, the affair is widely "different. In that case it is indispensable to "present to the old aristocracy of the Courts of

" Europe, only the elements of that aristocracy,
" which, in fact, constitutes a sort of free-masonry.
" If an Otto or an Andreossi were to enter the
" saloons of Vienna, there would be a stop to the
" interchange of opinion; habitual manners would
" cease. They would be regarded as intruders
" and profaners, and the mysteries of diplomacy
" would be suspended. But how different would
" it be with a Narbonne, possessing the advan-
" tages of affinity, sympathy, and identity! A
" lady of the old nobility would perhaps resign
" her person to a plebeian, though she would
" not discover to him the secrets of the aristo-
" cracy."

The Emperor was much attached to M. de Narbonne, and regretted him deeply. He had made him his aide-de-camp, he observed, only because Maria Louisa, through the intrigues of the persons composing her suite, had refused to have him appointed her gentleman of honour; a post for which he was perfectly adapted. " Until
" the period of his embassy," continued the Emperor, " we had been duped by Austria. In less
" than a fortnight M. de Narbonne penetrated
" all the secrets of the Vienna cabinet, and
" M. de Metternich was deeply mortified at the
" appointment. However, by a singular fatality,
" perhaps, even the success of M. de Narbonne
" thwarted my views. I found his talent was no
" less fatal than useful. Austria, thinking her

" designs were guessed, threw aside the mask,
" and took precipitate steps. Had less penetra-
" tion been evinced on our part, she would have
" acted with greater reserve and deliberation. She
" would have prolonged her natural indecision,
" and in the interim other chances might have
" risen up."

Some one present having alluded to the embassies of Dresden and Berlin, and being apparently inclined to attach blame to our diplomatic agents in those courts, at the period of the return from Moscow, the Emperor replied, that at that period the fault was not to be attributed to persons, but to things; that with a single glance any one might have foreseen what would happen; and that, for his part, he had not been deceived for a moment. He added, that if he had not in person conducted the army back to Wilna, and into Germany, it was through the fear of not being able himself to reach France. He wished, he said, to obviate this imminent danger by the boldness of his movements in crossing Germany rapidly and alone. He was, however, on the point of being taken in Silesia: " But luckily," said he, " the Prussians were deliberating at the
" moment when they ought to have been acting.
" Their conduct in this respect was like that
" which the Saxons observed towards Charles
" XII. who said, when he quitted Dresden on a
" similar occasion :—" You will see that they will

" hold a consultation to-morrow upon the expe-
" diency of having detained me to-day."

Before dinner the Emperor called me into his closet to go over some English exercises with him. He told me he had just been calculating the expenses of his toilette, and that it cost him about four napoleons per month. We laughed at the immensity of the budget. He talked of ordering some clothes, shoes, boots, &c. from the tradesmen in Europe who had his measures. I thought this would be attended with serious inconvenience, and, after some consideration, we were convinced that this would never be permitted.

" It is, however," observed the Emperor, " extremely vexatious to be thus deprived of " money; and I wish to come to some settlement " on this point. As soon as the bill, which is to " determine our situation here, shall be notified " to me, I intend to make arrangements for re-" ceiving an annual loan of seven or eight millions " of napoleons from Eugène. He cannot refuse " me. He has received from me perhaps up-" wards of forty millions; and it would be an " insult to his sentiments to doubt his readiness " to serve me. Besides we have long accounts " to settle together. I am sure, if I had ap-" pointed a committee of my Counsellors of State " to draw up a report on this subject, they " would have presented me with a balance of at " least ten or twelve millions on Eugène."

At dinner the Emperor asked us some questions respecting the sum necessary to enable a bachelor to live in a European capital, or for the support of a plain family establishment, or the maintenance of a family in a style of elegance. He is fond of these questions and calculations; he treats them with great shrewdness, and enters into the most curious details.

We each presented our budgets, and we agreed that a residence in Paris would cost 15,000, 40,000, and 100,000 francs. The Emperor dwelt much on the prices of various articles, and even on the prices of the same articles, as they are charged to different persons, and under different circumstances.

"When I was about to leave the army of "Italy," said he, "to return to Paris, Madame "Bonaparte wrote to inform me that she had "furnished, in the best possible style, a small "house that we had in the *Rue de la Victoire*. "The house was not worth more than 40,000 "francs. What was my surprise and vexation to "find that the drawing-room furniture, which, "after all, appeared to me nothing out of the "way, was charged at the enormous rate of be- "tween 120 and 130,000 francs. In vain did I "remonstrate; I was obliged to pay the amount. "The upholsterer showed me the directions he "had received, and which required that every "article should be the very best in its kind.

" Every thing had been made after new designs, " and the designs themselves had been invented " expressly for the fitting up of my house. Any " judge of the case must have condemned me."

The Emperor then adverted to the extravagant charges made for furnishing the imperial Palaces, and the vast economy which he had introduced on this point. He told us the price of the throne, the imperial ornaments, &c. Nothing could be more curious than to hear him detail these charges, together with his own plans of economy. How much I regret not having noted them down at the time! The following particulars will serve to show some of the methods which he adopted, for ascertaining the correctness of the accounts that were presented to him:—

On one occasion, when he returned to the Tuileries, which had been magnificently fitted up during his absence, the individuals who attended him eagerly drew his attention to all the new furniture and decorations. After expressing his satisfaction at every thing he saw, he walked up to a window overhung with a rich curtain, and asking for a pair of scissars, he cut off a superb gold acorn which was suspended from the drapery, and coolly putting it into his pocket he continued his inspection to the great astonishment of all present, who were unable to guess his motive. Some days afterwards, at his levee, he drew the acorn from his pocket and gave it to

the individual who superintended the furnishing of the palace. "Here," said he, "Heaven for-"bid that I should think you rob me; but some "one has doubtless robbed you. You have paid "for this at the rate of one-third above its value. "They have dealt with you as though you had "been the steward of a great nobleman. You "would have made a better bargain if you had "not been known." The fact was, that Napoleon having walked out one morning in disguise, (as he was often in the habit of doing) visited some of the shops in the Rue Saint Denis, where he priced ornaments similar to that which he had cut from the curtain, and enquired the value of various articles of furniture like those provided for the palace, and thus, as he said, he arrived at the result in its simplest form. Every one knew his habits in this respect. These, he said were his grand plans for ensuring domestic economy, which, notwithstanding his extreme magnificence, was carried to the utmost degree of precision and regularity.

In spite of his numerous occupations he himself revised all his accounts; but he had his own method of doing this, and they were always made out to him in their details. He would cast his eye on the first article, sugar for example, and finding some millions of pounds set down, he would take a pen, and say to the person who drew up the accounts: "How many individuals are

"there in my household?"—"Sire, so many:" (and it was necessary to give the answer immediately.)—"And how many pounds of sugar do "you suppose they consume per day on an "average?"—"Sire, so many."—He immediately made his calculation, and having satisfied himself, he would give back the paper, saying, "Sir, I have doubled your estimate of the daily "consumption, and yet you are enormously be-"yond the mark. Your account is faulty. Make "it out again, and let me have greater correct-"ness." This reproof would be sufficient to establish the strictest regularity. Thus he sometimes said of his private as of his public administration, "I have introduced such order, and "employed so many checks, that I cannot be "much imposed on. If I am wronged at all, I "leave the guilty person to settle the matter "with his own conscience. He will not sink "under the weight of his crime, for it cannot "be very heavy."

The Governor's visit to my apartment.—Critique on Voltaire's Mahomet.—Remarks on the Mahomet of history.—Gretry.

22d—25th. The weather has been very bad for several days past. The Emperor discontinued his morning walks, and applied himself with greater regularity to his different occupations. He dictated every morning on the events of 1814.

Sir Hudson Lowe came to visit our establishment. He entered my apartment and remained there for a quarter of an hour. He expressed his regret for the inconveniences to which we were exposed; and observed that we were lodged in bivouacs, rather than in apartments. He was right; the pitched paper which had been used for the rooms was already beginning to yield to the effect of the hot climate: when the sun shone I was stifled; and when it rained I was inundated. Sir Hudson Lowe said he would give directions for having these evils remedied as far as possible, and politely added, that he had brought with him about 1500 or 2000 French volumes, which, as soon as they should be arranged, he would feel great pleasure in placing at our service.

Racine and Voltaire occupied us for these two or three evenings. Phedre and Athalie, which were read to us by the Emperor, afforded us delightful entertainment; for his observations and commentaries gave twofold interest to what he read.

Mahomet was the subject of deep criticism. "Voltaire," said the Emperor, "in the character "and conduct of his hero, has departed both "from nature and history. He has degraded "Mahomet, by making him descend to the low-"est intrigues. He has represented a great man "who changed the face of the world, acting like "a scoundrel, worthy of the gallows. He has "no less absurdly travestied the character of

" Omar, which he has drawn like that of a cut-
" throat in a melo-drama.

" Voltaire committed a fundamental error in
" attributing to intrigue that which was solely
" the result of opinion. Those who have wrought
" great changes in the world, never succeeded by
" gaining over chiefs; but always by exciting the
" multitude. The first is the resource of intrigue,
" and produces only secondary results; the se-
" cond is the resort of genius, and transforms the
" face of the universe!"

The Emperor, adverting to the truth of history, expressed his disbelief of all that was attributed to Mahomet. " He must doubtless have been
" like all chiefs of sects," said he. " The Koran,
" having been written thirty years after his death,
" may have recorded many falsehoods. The em-
" pire of the Prophet, his doctrine and his mis-
" sion, being established and fulfilled, people
" might and must have spoken accordingly. Still
" it remains to be explained how the mighty
" event which we are certain did take place,
" namely, the conquest of the world, could have
" been effected in the short space of fifty or sixty
" years. By whom was it brought about? By
" the hordes of the desert, who, as we are informed,
" were few in number, ignorant, unwarlike, un-
" disciplined, and destitute of system. And yet
" they opposed the civilized world, abounding
" in resources. Fanaticism could not have ac-

" complished this miracle, for fanaticism must " have had time to establish her dominion, and " the career of Mahomet lasted only thirteen " years."—The Emperor conceived that, independently of the fortuitous events by which miracles are sometimes produced, there must have been in this case some hidden circumstance which has never been transmitted to our knowledge. He was of opinion, that Europe had doubtless sunk beneath the results of some first cause, of which we are ignorant ;—that the different races of people, who suddenly issued from the deserts, had perhaps been engaged in long civil wars, in which men of heroic character and great talent might have risen up, and irresistible impulses have been created.

In all that relates to oriental affairs, Napoleon departed materially from the common opinions which are derived from the books usually regarded as authorities. He said that on this subject he entertained ideas peculiar to himself, though perhaps they were not very well defined; and that his Egypt expedition had brought about this result in his mind.

" But to return to Voltaire," said he, " it is " astonishing how ill his dramas are adapted for " reading.—When criticism and good taste are " not cheated by pomp of diction and scenic illu- " sion, he immediately loses a thousand per cent. " It will scarcely be believed," continued he,

" that at the time of the Revolution, Voltaire had " superseded Corneille and Racine. The beauties " of these two great dramatists lay dormant, until " the First Consul again ushered them into " notice."

The Emperor spoke truly. It is very certain that when he brought us back to civilization, he at the same time restored us to good taste. He revived our national dramatic and lyric chefs d'œuvre,—even those pieces which had been proscribed for political reasons. Thus *Richard Cœur-de-Lion* was again brought upon the stage, though a tender interest had as it were consecrated it to the Bourbons.

" Poor Gretry," said the Emperor, " had long " urged me to permit the performance of the " opera. It was rather a dangerous experiment, " and a violent uproar was predicted. The repre- " sentation however went off without any un- " pleasant circumstances, and I ordered it to be " repeated for a week and a fortnight in succes- " sion, until the public were completely tired of " it. The charm being broken, Richard con- " tinued to be played like any ordinary piece, " until the time when the Bourbons in their turn " prohibited it, because it excited an interest in " my favour."

This strange vicissitude has, it is said, since been renewed with regard to the drama of *Prince Edward the Pretender*. The Emperor prohibited

the piece on account of the Bourbons, and the Bourbons have recently proscribed it on account of the Emperor.

My visit to Plantation House.—Sir Hudson Lowe's insinuations.—His first ill-natured trick.—Napoleon's proclamations.—His policy in Egypt.—His confession of an illegal act.

26th.—I went to pay my first visit to Plantation-house. I thought Lady Lowe a pretty and amiable woman, though there was something of the actress about her. Sir Hudson Lowe married a short time before his departure from Europe, for the express purpose, it is said, of having his wife to assist him in doing the honours of the colony. I understand this lady was the widow of an officer of the regiment which Sir Hudson Lowe formerly commanded, and the sister of a colonel killed at Waterloo.

The Governor showed me the most marked politeness and attention. He remarked that we were old acquaintances, though I was not aware of the fact. He said he had been much gratified by the perusal of *M. Lesage's Atlas*, though he had never dreamed that he should one day be introduced to the author. He had first seen the work in Sicily, where he got it smuggled from Naples; and he was inexhaustible in his praises of it. He had frequently read the account of the battle of Jena, with General Blucher, at the

head quarters where he was English commissioner, during the campaign of 1814. He said, he had always admired the liberal expressions and the spirit of moderation and impartiality which were observed towards England; but that at the period when he first examined the work, he had been forcibly struck by some equivocal passages, which seemed to breathe hostility or reproach to the individual who then governed us. He added, that he had accounted for these passages at the time, by my character and doctrines as an emigrant; but that now he thought it a singular contradiction, to find me here in the suite of that individual.

Now we had just been informed that Sir Hudson Lowe was, when in Italy, a kind of Head Police Officer, and an active agent of the . . . and . . . . . systems. I could not help suspecting, that a certain insinuation was intended to be conveyed in these remarks. If this were really the fact (and the Emperor entertained no doubt of it,) then at least the business was cleverly managed on his part; and had I felt less self-respect than I did, I could have given a smart retort, and the matter might have been carried to some length. I, however, merely replied that he had totally misunderstood the application of the equivocal passages in question, and that they could not have any reference to Napoleon, since I was now attached to his person.

On my return home, I found two French works which Sir H. Lowe had sent to me in the morning, accompanied by a note, in which he expressed a hope that their perusal would be gratifying to the Emperor. Will it be credited? One of these works was the Abbé de Pradt's Embassy to Warsaw. This I may note down as Sir Hudson Lowe's *first ill-natured trick*. The work was a novelty, it is true; but it was a libel solely directed against Napoleon.

As to the other book, when I first saw it, I thought I had found a treasure. I imagined it would indemnify us for the want of the Moniteurs, and furnish us with the materials we stood so much in need of. Its title described it to be a collection of all the proclamations and official documents of Napoleon, as General, First Consul, and Emperor. But it was published by the libelist Goldsmith, and was very incomplete, the finest bulletins being suppressed, the addresses to the Legislative Body mutilated, &c. But even in this imperfect state, the collection still remains the noblest monument that any man ever left behind him.

After dinner the Emperor amused himself by reading, in Goldsmith's publication, some of his own proclamations to the army of Italy. They even produced a powerful impression on himself; they interested and excited him. "And yet," said he, "they had the impudence to say I could "not write!"

He then turned to his proclamations to the army of Egypt, and joked much about that one in which he represented himself as inspired and sent by God. "This was quackery," said he; "but it was quackery of the highest order. Be- "sides, the proclamation was composed only for "the purpose of being translated into high-flown "Arabic verse by one of the cleverest of the "Sheiks. My French troops," continued he, "merely laughed at it; and such was their dis- "position in this respect, that in order to induce "them to listen to the bare mention of religion, "I was myself obliged to speak very lightly on "the subject, to place Jews beside Christians, "and Rabbis beside Bishops, &c."

The assertion made by Goldsmith of Napoleon's having assumed the Mussulman dress, is totally false. If ever he entered a mosque, he said, it was always as a conqueror, and not as a wor- shipper. On this subject I refer the reader to the Campaigns of Egypt. He was of too serious a turn, and had too much self-respect to act in an equivocal way on this point.

"After all," continued he, gaily, "it would "not have been so very extraordinary, even "though circumstances had induced me to em- "brace Islamism; and, as a good Queen of "France once said, '*You will tell me as much!*' . . "....But I must have had good reasons for "my conversion. I must have been secure of

"advancing as far as the Euphrates, at least. "Change of religion for private interest is inex- "cusable; but it may be pardoned in considera- "tion of immense political results. Henry IV. "said, '*Paris is well worth a mass.*' Will it then "be said that the dominion of the East, and per- "haps the subjugation of all Asia, were not "worth a turban and a pair of trowsers? And, "in truth, the whole matter was reduced to this; "for the grand Sheiks had studied how to render "it easy to us. They had smoothed down the "greatest obstacles; allowed us the use of wine, "and dispensed with all corporeal formalities. "We should therefore have lost only our small- "clothes and hats. I say we; for the army, in "the disposition in which it then was, would "have entertained but few scruples on the sub- "ject, and would have made it a mere matter of "jest and laughter. But what would have been "the consequence! I should have turned my "back on Europe, and the old civilization of the "continent would have been bound up. And "who would then have troubled themselves "about the course of Fate in France, or the re- "generation of the age! . . . Who would have "attempted it! Who could have succeeded!"

Continuing his examination of Goldsmith's book, the Emperor by chance cast his eyes on the Act of the Consuls, by which General Latour Foissac was cashiered for the surrender of Mantua. "This

said the Emperor, " was, without doubt, an illegal " and tyrannical act, but it was a necessary evil; " it was the fault of the laws. The general was " a hundred and a thousand times guilty, and yet " it was doubtful whether we ought to have con- " demned him. His acquittal would have pro- " duced the most fatal effect. We therefore " struck the blow with the combined arms of " honour and opinion. But I say again, it was " a tyrannical act, one of those severe strokes " which are sometimes indispensably necessary in " a great nation, and under important circum- " stances."

The first insult, and the first instance of cruelty, on the part of the Governor.—Characteristic traits.

27th.—About two o'clock the Governor came to Longwood, and asked the Emperor's leave to summon all the domestics before him. *This was the first insult received from the Governor.*

He probably wished to ascertain whether their declarations had been spontaneously made. M. de Montholon, who had the superintendence of the servants, informed Sir Hudson Lowe in the Emperor's name, that his Majesty had not imagined there could have been any pretence for interference between him and his *valet de chambre* That if his permission were asked, he decidedly refused it. That if the Governor's instructions

required the adoption of this measure, the power was in his own hands, and he might use it; this would only be adding another outrage to those which the English Ministers had already accumulated upon him.

At this moment I joined M. de Montholon and the Governor. I could easily perceive that the two interlocutors were by no means pleased with each other. After a few moments of silence and evident dissatisfaction, the Governor turned to me and remarked, that pains seemed to be taken to create difficulties and embarrassments in all that regarded the Emperor. I observed that Napoleon's household having been appointed for him, and not being one of his choice, it was perfectly natural that he should object to any interference with his servants. That if the Governor had any doubts to clear up relative to the domestics, two courses were open to him. He might resort to indirect and underhand means, which at least would not wound our feelings; or he might employ force and severity, which he was authorized to do if he pleased, and therefore he need entertain no scruples on the subject. But I added, that the method he was pursuing was quite hostile to our habits. I assured him that the Emperor was desirous of being as accommodating as possible, in the new situation in which he was placed: that he wished to retire within himself, asking for nothing, but to be left unan-

noyed to feel and consume his sorrow: that fortune had indeed robbed him of his power, but that nothing could deprive him of his self-respect: and, finally, that the consciousness and the delicacy of his dignity were the only things that remained to him of which he was perfectly master.

Meanwhile the servants were assembled, and M. de Montholon and I withdrew, that we might not sanction such a measure by our presence. The Governor spoke to the domestics, and afterwards joined us, saying:—"I am now satisfied. I can "inform the English Government that they all "signed it freely and voluntarily."

But his ill-humour was not yet fully spent; for he began most inopportunely to extol the beautiful situation of Longwood, observing that, after all, we were not so very badly off. And when we remarked, that we felt most severely the want of shade in this burning climate, and that there was scarcely a single tree on the Island, "*Oh! we will plant some,*" said he. Could any thing have been more cutting! . . . . This may be recorded as *the first trait of brutality on the part of the Governor.* After this he took his leave.

About five o'clock the Emperor got into the carriage to take an airing. As we were going out, he said, "*Gentlemen, but for one man I should* "*have been master of the world!* And who do you "think this one man was?" We were all eager-

ness to know. . . . " The Abbé de Pradt," continued the Emperor, " the Almoner of the God " of War." On hearing this we could not repress our laughter. " I am serious," continued he, " the Abbé thus expresses himself in his Embassy " to Warsaw; you may read it yourselves. The " work is altogether a wicked attack on me, an " absolute libel overwhelming me with insults " and calumnies. Whether I happened to be in " a particularly good humour at the time, or " whether it was because only truth offends, I " know not; but, at all events, I laughed heartily " when I read the work, and it afforded me abun- " dant entertainment."

Misunderstandings occasionally occurred between two individuals of the Emperor's suite. This circumstance would not have been mentioned here, but that it serves to introduce some characteristic traits of the mind and heart of him to whom we are devoted. The newspapers of the time, and the return of one of the parties to Europe, in consequence of these misunderstandings, however, have already given publicity to the affair.

When I entered the drawing-room, to wait until the announcement of dinner, I found the Emperor speaking with the utmost warmth on this subject, which vexed him exceedingly. His language was energetic and moving.

" You followed me," said he, " with the view " of cheering my captivity! Be united then!

" otherwise you but annoy me. If you wish to " render me happy, be united: otherwise you " are but a torment to me! You talk of fight- " ing even before my very eyes. I am no longer " then the object of your attention. You forget " that the observation of foreigners is fixed on " you. . . . . I wish you all to be animated by " my spirit. . . . . I wish that every individual " around me should be happy, and share the few " enjoyments that yet remain to us. Even down " to little Emmanuel there, I would wish you all " to have your due share . . . ."

The announcement of dinner put an end to the reprimand. The Emperor was silent during the repast; but at the dessert he ordered Voltaire to be brought to him, and began to read some of his dramas. But he soon laid aside the books. We daily became more and more tired of Voltaire.

The Emperor retired very early, and soon after desired me to attend him in his bed-chamber, where I remained with him until a late hour.

The Abbé de Pradt, and his Embassy to Warsaw.—The Russian War.—Its origin.

28th.—The Emperor again recurred to the Abbé de Pradt, and his work, which he reduced to merely the first and last pages. " In the first," said he, " he states himself to be the only man " who arrested Napoleon's career; in the last,

" he shows that the Emperor; in his way back " from Moscow, dismissed him from the embassy, " which is true; and this fact his self-love would " fain misrepresent or revenge. This is the whole " work. . . . . .

" But the Abbé," continued the Emperor, " did not fulfil at Warsaw any of the objects " which had been intended; on the contrary, he " did a great deal of mischief. Reports against " him poured in upon me from every quarter. " Even the young men, the clerks attached to the " embassy, were surprised at his conduct, and " went so far as to accuse him of maintaining an " understanding with the enemy; which, however, " I by no means believed. But he certainly " had a long conversation with me, which he " misrepresents, as might be expected; and it " was at the very moment when he was deliver- " ing a long prosing speech, which appeared to " me a mere string of absurdity and impertinence, that I scrawled on the corner of the " chimney-piece the order to withdraw him " from his embassy, and to send him as soon as " possible to France;* a circumstance which " was the cause of a good deal of merriment at " the time, and which the Abbé seems very desirous of concealing."

I cannot refrain from transcribing from the

* See the letters from the Cape.

Embassy to Warsaw, M. de Pradt's account of the Emperor Napoleon's court at Dresden. His remarks on this subject are striking, and afford a faithful picture both of men and things at that period.

"You," he says, "who wish to form a just idea of the omnipotence exercised in Europe by the Emperor Napoleon . . . . . ., who wish to fathom the depths of terror into which almost every European sovereign has fallen, ... transport yourselves in imagination to Dresden, and there contemplate that superb Prince, at the period of his highest glory, so nearly bordering on his fall!

"The Emperor occupied the grand apartments of the Chateau, whither he had transferred a considerable portion of his household. Here he gave grand dinner parties; and, with the exception of the first Sunday, when the King of Saxony had a gala, Napoleon's parties were always attended by the Sovereigns and different members of their families, according to the invitations issued by the Grand Marshal of the Palace. Some private individuals were admitted on these occasions. I enjoyed that honour on the day of my appointment to the embassy of Warsaw.

"The Emperor's levees were held here, as at the Tuileries, at nine o'clock. Then with what timid submission did a crowd of Princes, mingling with the courtiers, and often scarcely per-

ceived among them, anxiously await the moment for presenting themselves before the new arbitrator of their destinies."

These passages, and some others of equal truth and beauty of diction, are lost amidst a heap of details full of misrepresentation and malice. "They "are distorted facts and mutilated conversations," said the Emperor: and adverting to the accounts of the Empress of Austria, which were filled with adulation, and of the Emperor Alexander, whose amiable virtues and brilliant qualifications are extolled by the author, to the detriment of Napoleon, "Surely," exclaimed the Emperor, "this "is not a French bishop, but an eastern magi— "a worshipper of the rising sun." I shall both now and henceforward suppress, from a feeling of justice, several other articles and many details. The following observations may however be noted down, in opposition to the Abbé de Pradt's endeavours to prove that the French were the unjust aggressors in the contest with Russia.

The Emperor, speaking of the Russian war, said: "No events are trifling with regard to na- "tions and sovereigns; for their destinies are con- "trolled by the most inconsiderable circum- "stances. For some time a misunderstanding "had risen up between France and Russia. "France reproached Russia with the violation of "the continental system, and Russia required an "indemnification for the Duke of Oldenburg, and

" raised other pretensions. Russian troops were " approaching the Duchy of Warsaw, and a " French army was forming in the north of Ger- " many. Yet we were far from being deter- " mined on war, when, all on a sudden, a new " Russian army commenced its march towards " the Duchy; and, as an ultimatum, an insolent " note was presented at Paris by the Russian " Ambassador, who, in the event of its non-accep- " tance, threatened to quit Paris in eight days. " I considered this as a declaration of war. It " was long since I had been accustomed to this " sort of tone. I was not in the habit of allowing " myself to be anticipated. I could have marched " to Russia at the head of the rest of Europe; the " enterprise was popular; the cause was one " which interested Europe. It was the last effort " that remained to France. Her fate, and that of " the new European system, depended on the " struggle. Russia was the last resource of Eng- " land. The peace of the whole world rested " with Russia. The event could not be doubtful. " I commenced my march; but when I reached " the frontier, I, to whom Russia had declared " war by withdrawing her Ambassador, still con- " sidered it my duty to send mine (Lauriston) to " the Emperor Alexander at Wilna; he was re- " jected, and the war commenced!

" Yet, who would credit it? Alexander and " myself were in the situation of two bullies,

" who, without wishing to fight, were endeavour-
" ing to terrify each other. I would most wil-
" lingly have maintained peace; I was surrounded
" and overwhelmed with unfavourable circum-
" stances, and all that I have since learned, con-
" vinces me that Alexander was still less eager
" for war than myself.

" M. de Romanzoff, who had maintained com-
" munications at Paris, and who some time after,
" when the Russians experienced reverses, was
" very severely treated by Alexander, for the
" course he had induced him to pursue, had as-
" sured the Russian Emperor, that the moment
" was come when Napoleon, in his embarrass-
" ments, would readily make some sacrifices to
" avoid war; that the favourable opportunity
" should not be allowed to escape; that it was
" only necessary to assume a bold attitude, and
" a tone of firmness; that indemnity would be
" obtained for the Duke of Oldenburg; that
" Dantzick would be gained, and that Russia
" would thus acquire immense weight in Europe.

" Such was the cause of the movement of
" the Russian troops, and of the insolent note
" of Prince Kurakin, who, doubtless, was not
" in the secret, and who had been foolish enough
" to execute his instructions in too literal a way.
" The same mistaken notions, and the same sys-
" tem also, occasioned the refusal to receive Lau-
" riston at Wilna. This was an instance of the

" errors and misfortunes which attended my new " diplomacy. It stood insulated, without affinity " or contact, in the midst of the objects which it " had to direct. Had my Minister for Foreign " Affairs been a member of the old aristocracy, " and a man of superior ability, there is no doubt " but he must have observed the cloud that was " gathering, and might have prevented our going " to war. Talleyrand, perhaps, might have done " this; but it was above the powers of the new " school. I could not make the discovery " myself; my dignity precluded personal expla- " nations. I could form my judgment only from " documents, and in vain did I turn them over " and over, for I was sure at last to arrive at a " point where they could make no reply to my " enquiries.

" Scarcely had I opened the Campaign, when " the mask fell, and the real sentiments of the " enemy were developed. In the course of two " or three days Alexander, alarmed at our first " successes, despatched a messenger to me, to " say, that if I would evacuate the invaded ter- " ritory, and fall back as far as the Niemen, he " would enter upon negotiations. But I in my " turn took this for a stratagem. I was elated " with success; I had taken the Russian army " in the very fact, in the critical moment; I had " cut off Bagration, and I might have hoped to " destroy him. I thought, however, that the

" enemy merely wanted to gain time for the pur-
" pose of rallying his forces. Had I been convinced
" of Alexander's sincerity, I should doubtless have
" acceded to his proposition of falling back to the
" Niemen. In that case, he would not have passed
" the Dwina; Wilna would have been neutralized;
" and there Alexander and myself, accompanied
" by a few battalions of our guards, would have
" negotiated in person. How many arrangements
" should I not have proposed! . . . Alexander
" would have had only to take his choice, and
" we should have separated good friends.

" Yet, in spite of the events that succeeded,
" and which left my enemy triumphant, is it
" quite certain that the measures I have just
" hinted at would have been less advantageous
" than those which have since been pursued?
" Alexander marched to Paris, it is true, but he
" came accompanied by the forces of all Europe.
" He has gained Poland: but what will be the
" result of the shock given to the whole Euro-
" pean system; of the agitation into which every
" nation has been thrown; of the increase of
" European influence over the rest of Russia
" through the accumulation of new acquisitions;
" the expeditions in which the Russian troops are
" engaged in remote quarters; and the influence
" of the incongruous mass of men and knowledge
" which have taken refuge in Russia from foreign
" parts?

" Will the Russian Sovereigns be content to " consolidate what they have acquired? If, on " the contrary, they should be influenced by am- " bition, what extravagant enterprises may they " not attempt! And yet they have lost Moscow, " her wealth and resources, and those of many " other cities! These are wounds which will " bleed for half a century. But at Wilna we " might have entered into arrangements for the " advantage of all, subjects as well as sovereigns!"

On another occasion, the Emperor said, " I " might have shared with Russia the possession " of the Turkish empire. We had oftener than " once contemplated the idea, but Constantinople " was always the obstacle that opposed its exe- " cution. The Turkish capital was the grand " stumbling-block between us. Russia wanted " it, and I could not resign it. Constantinople " is an empire of itself. It is the real keystone " of power; for he who possesses it may rule the " world.

" What then?" said the Emperor, resuming the former question, " what has Alexander gained, " which he might not have secured to better ad- " vantage at Wilna?"—Some one present replied, " Sire, he has conquered, and he remains trium- " phant."—" That may be the vulgar opinion," exclaimed the Emperor, " but no Sovereign should " entertain such an idea. A Monarch, if he him- " self governs, or his counsellors, if they govern

" for him, must, in vast enterprises of this nature, " attach less importance to the victory than to its " results. And even though the case be limited " to vulgar considerations, still I maintain that " the wished-for object has not been attained. " Even here the palm must be awarded to the " vanquished party. Who will pretend that my " victories in Germany were equalled by the " successes of the Allies in France? Will any " thinking man, will any historian pronounce such " an opinion?

" The Allies advanced with all Europe in their " train, against a force which might be almost " counted as nothing. They had 600,000 men in " the line, and nearly an equal number in re- " serve. If they had been beaten, they had no- " thing to fear, they could have fallen back. I, " on the contrary, in Germany, 500 leagues from " home, had hardly a force equal to my enemy's. " I was surrounded by sovereigns and people " repressed only by fear, and who, on the first " disaster, were ready to rise against me. But I " triumphed amidst dangers constantly increas- " ing; I was incessantly compelled to exercise an " equal degree of address and energy. In all " these enterprises I found it necessary to main- " tain a strange character; to evince singular " acuteness of perception, and great confidence in " my own plans; though they were perhaps dis- " approved by every one around me.

"What deeds on the part of the Allies can be "compared with these? If I had not conquered "at Austerlitz, I should have had all Prussia on "me. If I had not proved victorious at Jena, "Austria and Spain would have assailed me in "my rear. If I had not triumphed at Wagram, "which, by the bye, was a less decisive victory, "I had to fear that Russia would abandon me, "that Prussia would rise against me; and mean- "while the English were already before Antwerp.

"Yet what was my conduct after the victory? "At Austerlitz I gave Alexander his liberty, "though I might have made him my prisoner.* "After Jena I left the House of Prussia in pos- "session of a throne which I had conquered: "after Wagram, I neglected to parcel out the "Austrian monarchy.

"If all this be attributed merely to magnani- "mity, cold and calculating politicians will doubt- "less blame me. But, without rejecting that "sentiment to which I am not a stranger, I had "higher aims in view. I wished to bring about

* Since my return to Europe, I have been assured that there exist two notes, written in pencil by the Emperor Alexander, urgently soliciting that he might be allowed to pass. If this be true, what a singular vicissitude of fortune presents itself! The magnanimous Conqueror was doomed to perish in captivity, remote from Europe, and separated from his family; and this too, in the name of the conquered party, to whose prayers he had so generously listened.

" the amalgamation of the great European inter-
" ests, in the same manner as I had effected the
" union of parties in France. My ambition was
" one day to become the arbiter in the great cause
" of nations and kings; it was therefore necessary
" that I should secure to myself claims on their
" gratitude, and seek to render myself popular
" among them. This I could not do without
" losing something in the estimation of others.
" I was aware of this. But I was powerful and
" fearless. I concerned myself but little about
" transient popular murmurs, being very sure
" that the result would infallibly bring the people
" over to my side.

" I committed a great fault after the battle of
" Wagram, in not reducing the power of Austria
" still more. She remained too strong for our
" safety, and to her we must attribute our ruin.
" The day after the battle I should have made
" known by proclamation, that I would treat with
" Austria only on condition of the preliminary
" separation of the three crowns of Austria, Hun-
" gary, and Bohemia. Will it be credited? A
" Prince of the House of Austria several times
" hinted to me the idea of transferring one of
" the two last-mentioned crowns to him, or
" even raising him to the throne occupied by his
" own family, on pretence that it was only thus
" that Austria could be induced to act sincerely
" with me. He even proposed to give me, by way

" of hostage, ...
" . . . . . ., and, moreover, every
" possible guarantee."

The Emperor said he had even turned this idea over in his own mind. He had hesitated about it for some time previous to his marriage with Maria Louisa; but after that event, continued he, it became impracticable. He observed, that on the subject of marriage his notions were too citizen-like:—" Austria," said he, " had become a por-
" tion of my own family; and yet my marriage
" ruined me. If I had not thought myself safe,
" and protected by this alliance, I should have
" delayed the resurrection of Poland: I should
" have waited until Spain was subdued and tran-
" quil. I set foot on an abyss, concealed by a
" bed of flowers!"

The Emperor indisposed.—His first day of complete seclusion.—The Persian and Turkish Ambassadors.—Anecdotes.

29th.—About five o'clock the Grand Marshal visited me in my chamber. He had not been able to see the Emperor, who through indisposition had been confined to his own apartment all day, and refused to see any one. Towards evening I went out to take a stroll in those paths in which the Emperor usually walked about this time. I felt dull, being alone. We had dined without the Emperor.

About nine o'clock, just as I was regretting that the day had passed over without my seeing him, he sent for me. I expressed my concern for his indisposition. He replied, that he was perfectly well, but that he had taken a fancy to remain alone; that he had been reading all day, and that the time had passed away swiftly and agreeably.

He however appeared low-spirited and languid. He took my Atlas, which happened to be lying beside him, and opening it at the map of the world, he cast his eye on Persia. "I had laid out some "excellent plans, with regard to that country," said he. "What a happy resting point would it "have been for my lever, whether I wished to "disturb Russia, or to make an incursion on "India. I had set on foot relations with Persia, "and I hoped to bring them to a point of inti- "macy, as well as those with Turkey. It might "have been supposed, that the animals would "have understood their own interests sufficiently "well, to have acceded to my propositions; but "both Persians and Turks evaded me at the de- "cisive moment. English gold proved more "powerful than my plans. Some treacherous "ministers, for a few guineas, sacrificed the pros- "perity of their country; which is usually the "case under seraglio monarchs or imbecile kings."

The Emperor then abandoning politics, began to relate some anecdotes of the seraglio, and adverted to the Persians of Montesquieu, and his

letters, which he said were distinguished for wit, delicate observations, and above all, for the bitter satire of the time. He afterwards spoke of the Turkish and Persian Ambassadors who were in Paris during his reign. He asked me what impression they produced in the French capital; whether they made visits, and received company, &c.

I replied, that during their stay in Paris, they engrossed public attention, and formed a kind of raree-show at Court. The Persian in particular attracted curiosity. On his arrival he willingly received visitors, and as he made presents of perfumes, and even shawls, he was a great favourite with the ladies. But the great number of those who paid their court to him, soon forced him to set bounds to his liberality, and thenceforward, the rage being over, he was no longer thought of. I added, that at Court when the Emperor was not present, we sometimes ventured, very inconsiderately to be sure, to play off tricks at the expense of the oriental Ambassadors. At a concert given one day by the Empress Josephine, Asker-Kan with his long, painted beard was one of the company. He seemed to be heartily tired of the music, and fell asleep standing with his back against a wall, his feet thrust forward and resting against an armchair which stood in the corner by the fire-place. Some one, by way of joke, drew the chair away softly, so that his Excellency had well

nigh fallen down his whole length on the floor, and being thus roused from his slumber, he roared out lustily. Asker-Kan could more readily enter into a joke than the Turkish Ambassador; but on this occasion he was thrown much out of humour, and as we could only understand each other by gestures, the scene was most ludicrous. In the evening the Empress enquired the cause of the noise that had been heard during the concert; and when the circumstance was explained to her, she laughed and scolded us a good deal. "It was "very ill done, certainly," observed the Emperor; "but what business had he at the concert?"— "Sire," I replied, "both he and the Turkish Am- "bassador, went there with the view of paying "their court to you. They hoped that your Ma- "jesty would be apprized of the circumstance, "though you were at that time five hundred "leagues off." I added, that on other occasions they had both proved themselves accomplished courtiers, and that their wish to ingratiate themselves with the Emperor carried them to the most extravagant lengths. "We have often seen them," said I, "at the close of the grand diplomatic "audiences on Sunday, follow your Majesty to "mass, and occupy the pews in the chapel along "with Cardinals of the Holy Catholic Church."— "What a monstrous spectacle!" exclaimed the Emperor. "What a subversion of their prin- "ciples and habits!—What extraordinary things

" I brought about; and yet all this was neither " ordered nor observed."

The conversation continuing on the two orientals, I mentioned that I had been informed the Arch-chancellor Cambacérès once gave them both a grand dinner. Though natives of the same quarter of the globe, and members of the same religion, yet they nevertheless evinced shades of character totally different. The Turk, who was a disciple of Omar, was the Janneist, and the Persian, who was a sectary of Aly, was the Jesuist. It was said that at Cambacérès' dinner, they scrupulously watched each other with regard to the wine, just as two Catholic Bishops seated at the same table might be expected to keep a vigilant look out, lest either should be tempted to eat meat on a Friday.

The Turk was gloomy and ignorant, and was looked upon as little better than a brute; but the Persian possessed literary information, was very talkative, and had the reputation of being a clever man. It was observed that he made no use of a knife and fork, either in eating or helping himself to any dish at table; and he probably would not have hesitated to help his neighbours in the same unceremonious way. One of our customs particularly attracted his notice; this was our practice of eating bread with every dish. He said he could not understand why we

were obliged always to eat the same thing with every thing.

I believe I have already remarked that nothing amuses the Emperor so much as accounts of the fashionable world in Paris, anecdotes of our saloons, &c.

The Emigrants and the Faubourg St. Germain were subjects on which he was always fond of conversing with me when we were alone, and he accounted for this, by saying to me once, "I was "well acquainted with every thing that had re- "lation to myself, but I never knew any thing "of those affairs." He observed, that he had a natural desire to learn every thing that was passing near him, and to hear the chit-chat of little towns, &c. "I heard a great deal on these sub- "jects," added he, "during the period of my "power; but whenever any thing favourable was "said, I put myself on my guard—I was fearful "of insinuations; and if, on the contrary any "thing unfavourable was reported to me, I mis- "trusted the accusation, and had enough to do "to guard against a feeling of contempt. Here, "my dear Las Cases, none of these disadvantages "exist; you and I already belong to the other "world; we are conversing in the Elysian fields: "you are without interested views, and I am "without suspicion." I therefore eagerly seized every opportunity that offered itself, to entertain

the Emperor in this way. He perceived this, and gave me credit for my intentions; for, at the conclusion of one of my stories, he pinched my ear, and said in a tone of voice which delighted me: "I read a story in your Atlas of a Northern "Monarch who was immured in a prison, and "one of his soldiers solicited and obtained per- "mission to be imprisoned with him, in order "that he might cheer his spirits, either by in- "ducing him to converse, or by relating amusing "stories to him. My dear Las Cases, you are "that soldier." . . . . . .

On the present occasion I described to the Emperor, the hoax which had been played upon M. de Marbois, and which he had not heard of before. It was as follows: One day, as the story goes, Asker-Kan, who was indisposed, and tired of his Persian treatment, gave orders to send for M. Bourdois, one of the first physicians in Paris. The messenger made a mistake, and went to M. de Marbois, Ex-minister of the Treasury, and at that time President of the Court of Accounts.— "His Excellency the Persian Ambassador," said he, "is very ill, and wishes to see you." M. de Marbois could not conceive what business the Persian Ambassador could possibly have with him; but Asker-Kan was the envoy of a great Prince, and there is nothing which vanity will not contrive to reconcile. He proceeded with great pomp to the Ambassador's residence; and

it must be allowed that there was nothing in his dress, physiognomy, or deportment, at all likely to undeceive the Persian, who, as soon as he saw him, thrust out his tongue, and stretching forth his arm, motioned him to feel his pulse. These extraordinary gestures astonished M. de Marbois, but he thought they might be some oriental fashion. He took the hand which was offered, and pressed it cordially, when four attendants entered with solemnity, and presented to the Ex-minister a vessel of a very unequivocal nature, for his better information on the state of the patient. At this spectacle, the grave M. de Marbois flew into a violent passion, and asked what was the meaning of this extraordinary behaviour. The mistake was explained ; it was M. Bourdois who had been wanted, and the similarity in the sound of the two names had alone occasioned the error. Poor M. de Marbois was the laughing-stock of Paris, and for a long time he could not show his face any where without exciting merriment.

" The drawing-rooms of Paris are indeed tre-
" mendous with their jokes!" said the Emperor,
" for it cannot be denied that they are for the
" most part pointed and witty. They always assail
" the enemy at the breach, and a total defeat is
" the usual consequence."—" It is true," said I,
" nothing was spared. Even religion was not held
" sacred, and your Majesty may well suppose

" that neither you nor the Empress escaped."—" I dare say not," replied the Emperor, " but no " matter; what was said of us?"—" It was re- " ported, Sire, that one day your Majesty, being " much dissatisfied at the perusal of a despatch " from Vienna, said to the Empress in a moment " of ill-humour, *your father is a blockhead*, (*votre " père est une ganache*). Maria Louisa, who was " unacquainted with many French phrases, turned " to the person nearest her, and observing that the " Emperor had called her Father a *ganache*, asked " what the term meant. The courtier, embar- " rassed at this unexpected interrogatory, stam- " mered out that the word signified a wise man, " a man of judgment, and a good counsellor. " Some time after, the Empress, with her newly " learnt term fresh in her memory, was present " at the Council of State, and the discussion be- " coming somewhat warm, in order to put a stop " to it, she called on M. Cambacérès, who was " yawning by her side . . . . —' You must set " us right on this important point,' said she, " ' you shall be our oracle; for I consider you as " the greatest *ganache* in the Empire.' " At these words the Emperor held his sides with laughter. " What a pity," said he, " that this anecdote is " not true! Only imagine the scene. The offended " dignity of Cambacérès, the merriment of the " whole council, and the embarrassment of poor

" Maria Louisa, alarmed at the success of her " unconscious joke."

The conversation continued for a long time in this way, and I spent about two hours with the Emperor; I had exerted myself to talk as much as I possibly could to divert him, and I had succeeded. The Emperor felt his spirits revived, he even enjoyed a hearty laugh. When he dismissed me, he felt much better, and I was happy at the change.

Second day of seclusion.—The Emperor receives the Governor in his chamber.—Characteristic conversation.

30th.—To-day I and my son were engaged to dine at Mr. Balcombe's, at the Briars. About half past three I went to receive the Emperor's commands; he was the same as yesterday, and did not intend to go out.

Just before I had reached Hut's Gate, the residence of Madame Bertrand, I met the Governor on his way to Longwood. He asked me how the Emperor was. I told him I felt uneasy about him, and that he had not seen any of us yesterday. I added, that though he had told me this morning he was well, yet from his countenance I should have expected a different account.

About half past nine we set out from the Briars on our return to Longwood; it was very dark. A

heavy fall of rain had come on, which was as sharp and cutting as hail. We had a most disagreeable, troublesome, and dangerous ride, being every moment on the point of being precipitated into some abyss or other, for we were obliged to gallop on at random without seeing where we were going. We arrived at Longwood drenched to the skin.

The Emperor had given orders that I should attend him on my return. He was well, but he had stayed at home as he had done yesterday. He said he had been waiting for me, and had many things to tell me.

On learning that the Governor had arrived, he admitted him into his chamber, though he was not dressed, and was unable to rise from his couch. He said he had discussed with him, in perfect composure, all the points which naturally presented themselves to his mind. He spoke of protesting against the treaty of the second of August, in which the Allied Sovereigns declared him an exile, and a prisoner. He asked what right these Sovereigns had to dispose of him, without his consent, him who was their equal, and had sometimes been their master. He said, if he had thought proper to withdraw to Russia, Alexander, who styled himself his friend, and who never had any but political disputes with him, would, if he had not upheld him as a king, at least have treated him as one. This the Governor could not deny. He said, had he thought proper to take refuge in

Austria, the Emperor Francis could not, without disgracing himself, have denied him, not only his empire, but even his house and his family, of which he, Napoleon, was a member. This the Governor also admitted.

" Lastly," said the Emperor, " if, relying on my " own individual interests, I had persisted in de- " fending them in France by force of arms, there " is no doubt that the Allies would have formally " granted me immense advantages, perhaps even dominion." The Governor, who hesitated for some time on this point, at length agreed, that there was no doubt but the Emperor might with ease have obtained a Sovereignty. " I did not wish it," continued the Emperor; " I determined on abandon- " ing public affairs; indignant at beholding the " leading men in France betraying their country, " or at least committing the grossest errors with " regard to her interests; indignant at finding that " the mass of the representatives preferred dis- " grace to death, and stooped to barter with that " sacred independence, which, like honour, should " be *a rocky and inaccessible island.* In this state " of things what did I determine on? What reso- " lution did I adopt? I sought an asylum in a " country which was supposed to be governed " by laws: among a people, of whom for twenty " years I had been the bitterest enemy! But what " did you do? . . . . Your conduct will be re- " corded in history to your eternal disgrace. Yet

" there is an avenging Providence; sooner or " later you will meet your reward! It will not " be long before your prosperity, your laws, will " expiate your crime! . . . . Your Ministers have " sufficiently proved, by their instructions, that " they wish to get rid of me! Why did not the " Kings who proscribed me openly decree my " death! One act would have been as legal as the " other! A speedy termination to my sufferings " would have shown more energy than the linger- " ing death to which they have doomed me. The " Calabrians have been more humane, more gene- " rous than the Allied Sovereigns or your Minis- " ters. I will not die by my own hands. That " would be an act of cowardice. To overcome " misfortune is a proof of a noble and courageous " mind! We mortals are bound to fulfil our des- " tinies. But if it be intended to keep me here, I " feel that you would be doing me a kindness in " depriving me of life; for here I daily suffer the " agonies of death! The limits of St. Helena are " too narrow for me, who was every day accus- " tomed to ride ten, fifteen, or twenty leagues on " horseback. The climate is not like ours: neither " the sun nor the seasons are like what we have " been accustomed to. Every thing here is hos- " tile to happiness and comfort. The situation is " disagreeable and unwholesome, and is destitute " of water. This part of the island is totally bar- " ren and has been deserted by the inhabitants."

The Governor stated, that his instructions required that the Emperor should be restricted to certain limits in his rides, and that an officer should always accompany him. "If they had "been thus observed," replied the Emperor, "I "should never have left my chamber. If your "instructions will not admit of greater latitude, "you can henceforth do nothing for us. How-"ever, I neither ask nor wish for any thing. "Convey these sentiments to the English Go-"vernment."

"This," said the Governor, "is the consequence "of transmitting instructions from so great a dis-"tance, and with regard to a person of whom those "who draw up the instructions know so little." He then endeavoured to shift the question by intimating, that on the arrival of the wooden house or palace, which was on its way to St. Helena, better plans might perhaps be adopted; that the vessel which was expected was bringing furniture and stores of provisions, which it was supposed would be agreeable to the Emperor; that the English Government was exerting every effort to alleviate his situation, &c.

The Emperor replied, that all their efforts amounted to little; that he had requested to be furnished with the Morning Chronicle and the Statesman, that he might read what related to himself under the least disagreeable forms; but his request had never been complied with. He

had asked for books, which were his only consolation; but nine months had passed away, and he had not received any. He had desired to obtain intelligence of his wife and son; but this had been withheld from him.

"As to the provisions, the furniture, and the "house, that are intended for me," continued he, "you and I, Sir, are soldiers; we know how to "value these things. You have been in my na- "tive city, perhaps in the very house occupied "by my family.* Though it was not the worst "on the island—though I have no reason to be "ashamed of my family circumstances, yet you "know what they were. But though I have "occupied a throne, and have disposed of crowns, "I have not forgotten my first condition; my "couch and my camp-bed, you see, are still suf- "ficient for me."

The Governor observed that the wooden palace and its accompaniments were at least not to be disregarded. "Probably not," replied the Emperor, "for your own satisfaction, in the eyes of Europe; "but to me they are matters of perfect indif- "ference. It is not a house, not furniture, that "should have been sent to me; but an execu-

* The Publishers having been favoured by a distinguished Literary Friend, with a drawing of the house alluded to, in which Napoleon was born, and which was taken by a gentleman who went to Corsica for the express purpose, they intend giving an engraving of it in course of these publications.

" tioner, and a coffin. The former are a mockery, " the latter would be a favour. I say again, the " instructions of your ministers tend to this result, " and I invoke it. The Admiral, who is not an " ill-disposed man, appears to me now to have " softened these instructions, I do not complain of " his acts; his forms alone offended me." Here the Governor asked whether he had unconsciously committed any faults. " No, Sir, we " complain of nothing since your arrival. Yet " one act has offended us, and that is your inspec- " tion of our domestics. It was insulting to " M. de Montholon, by appearing to throw a " suspicion on his integrity; and it was petty, " disagreeable, and insulting towards me, and " perhaps degrading to the English General him- " self, who thus came to interfere between me " and my *valet de chambre*."

The Governor was seated in an arm chair on one side of the Emperor, who had remained stretched on his couch. It was dark, the evening was drawing in, and it was not easy to distinguish objects. " Therefore," observed the Emperor, " it was in vain that I endeavoured to watch the " play of his features, and to observe the impres- " sion which my words made on him."

In course of the conversation the Emperor, who in the morning had been reading the Campaign of 1814, by Alphonse de Beauchamp, in which all the English bulletins bore the signature Lowe,

asked the Governor if he was the individual who had signed them. Sir Hudson Lowe, with marked embarrassment, replied in the affirmative, and added, that the bulletins represented his views and opinions. The Governor, who had several times proposed that the Emperor should be attended by his physician, who he said was a very skilful man, on taking his leave again proposed to send his Doctor to Longwood. But the Emperor saw his motives, and constantly resisted his offer.

Having related all these particulars to me, the Emperor remained silent for some minutes. Then resuming, apparently after some reflection, he said: "How mean and disagreeable is the ex- "pression of the Governor's countenance: I never "saw any thing like it in my life! . . . I should "be unable to drink my coffee if this man were "beside me . . . . My dear Las Cases, they have "sent me worse than a jailor! . . ."

I shall insert here three additional chapters on the Campaigns of Italy.

The first describes a campaign of twenty-six days, full of grand events, crowned by the *Battle of Castiglione*, which title it bears.

The second and third chapters, entitled *Arcola* and *Rivoli*, detail a series of new prodigies.

BATTLE OF CASTIGLIONE.*

From the invasion of Wurmser, on the 29th of July 1796, to the second blockade of Mantua, on the 24th of August following, a space of twenty-six days. (See the map.)

I. *Marshal Wurmser quits the command of the army of Germany, and takes that of the Austrian army of Italy.*—The army of Italy had opened the campaign in the month of April. June had arrived, and the armies of the North, of the Rhine, and of the Sambre and Meuse, were still inactive. These great and excellent armies, containing more than 200,000 men, constituting the principal forces of the republic, were quietly doing garrison duty in Holland, on the Meuse and Rhine, and in Alsace.

When the arrival of the French on the Adige, and the blockade of Mantua became known, the court of Austria gave up the plan of offensive operations in Alsace, and on the Lower Rhine,

* All the words in Italics are corrections made in the original manuscript by Napoleon's own hand.

which it had projected; and ordered Marshal Wurmser, who had been destined for these operations, to come back with all possible expedition, for the purpose of conducting affairs in Italy, and to bring thither 30,000 of his best troops; which added to the reinforcements sent from every part of the monarchy, would make up an army of near 100,000 men.

The French army of Italy had accomplished its task in destroying the army opposed to it. If the armies of the North had done as much, the contest would have been over.

Reports of the preparations making by the house of Austria were heard, however, throughout Italy. All the confidential intelligence of the diplomatic agents, all the letters of the enemies of France, were filled with particulars of the immense means which were about to be brought into action, and of the *certainty* that before the end of August, the Emperor of Germany would be master of Milan, and would have driven the French out of Italy.

II. *Situation of the army of Italy.*—From the end of June the French General had been attentively considering all these preparations, and was greatly alarmed at them. He made the Directory sensible that it was impossible for 30,000 French to sustain alone, the efforts of the whole power of Austria. He demanded either that reinforcements should be sent to him from the armies of

the Rhine, or that those armies themselves should begin the campaign *without delay*. He reminded them of the positive promise which he had received on leaving Paris, that these armies should commence operations on the 15th of April; he complained that two months had elapsed without their having stirred.

Wurmser marched from the Rhine with his reinforcements, towards the beginning of June; and, towards the end of the same month, the armies of the Rhine, and of the Sambre and Meuse, at length opened the campaign. But their diversion was no longer serviceable to the army of Italy, Wurmser having already reached it. The French General joined all his forces on the Adige and the Chiesa; he left no troops in the Legations, or in Tuscany, except one battalion of *depôt* in the citadel of Ferrara, and two at Leghorn. He reduced as much as possible the garrisons of Coni, Tortona, and Alessandria; he collected and brought within his own disposal, all the disposable resources of the army. The siege of Mantua began to produce sickness; and notwithstanding all the care that could be taken to expose as few men as possible before that unwholesome place, our losses became very considerable.

The General-in-chief could not assemble more than 30,000 effective men under arms. It was with *this army* that he was shortly to oppose the principal army of the house of Austria.

The correspondence of the different countries of Italy with the Tyrol, was very active; in that province were collected all the hostile forces: it was easy to perceive the daily increasing evil influence of all these preparations on the popular mind. The partizans of the French trembled; those of Austria, on the contrary, assumed a proud and threatening tone. But all were astonished, that a power like France should leave an army, which had deserved so well of its country, without succour or support. These remarks found their way to the soldiery, by means of their habitual communications with the inhabitants of the country.

At the end of July, General Soret's headquarters were at Salo; he was ordered to cover the debouche of the Chiesa, where a great road passes that leads from Trent to Brescia. Massena was at Bussolengo, causing Corona and Montebaldo to be occupied by Joubert's brigade, and encamping with the rest of his division on the level of Rivoli. Dallemagne's brigade was posted at Verona; Augereau's division occupied Porto Legnago and the Lower Adige. General Guillaume commanded at Peschiera, where six galleys under the command of Captain Lallemand of the navy, secured the Lake of Garda. Lastly, Serrurier was pressing the siege of Mantua, and Kilmaine commanded the cavalry of the army.

III. *Wurmser's plan of Campaign.*—Wurmser

had the choice of two plans; either to pass the Brenta, and to debouch by Vicenza and Padua on the Adige: by which route he would have avoided the mountains, but would have found himself separated from Mantua by the Adige, and obliged to force the passage of that river in the face of the French army: or to debouch between the Adige and the Lake of Garda, take possession of Montebaldo and the level of Rivoli; bring up his artillery and baggage by the road which runs parallel with the left bank of the Adige: his army would then have cleared the mountains and the Adige, and would have no obstacle remaining in the way of its arrival at Mantua. But his artillery and cavalry would not be able to join his infantry until he should take the level of Rivoli. Thus he might find himself attacked, and obliged to fight a decisive battle, before he could be joined by his artillery and cavalry.

Wurmser, however, disregarded this objection, and adopted the plan last described. When informed of the taking of the intrenched camp of Mantua, and the hazardous situation of the fortress itself, he hastened his movements by eight or ten days. He divided his army into three corps. The first, and most considerable, forming his centre, debouched by Montebaldo, and occupied all the country between the Adige and the Lake of Garda: it was composed of four divisions containing 40,000 men. The second, forming his

left, composed of a division of infantry of 10 or 12,000 men, with all the artillery, cavalry, and baggage, took the road leading from Roveredo to Verona, passing along the left bank of the Adige, and was to join the army by passing the Adige either at the level of Rivoli, or over the bridges at Verona. The third corps, composing his right, and consisting of three divisions, containing from 30 to 35,000 men, directed its course to the left bank of the lake of Garda, followed the course of the Chiesa, coasting the Lake of Idro; by marching in this direction this corps was to turn the Mincio, cut off one of the great roads of the French army to Milan, and turn the whole siege of Mantua. This plan was, on the part of the enemy, the result of an extreme confidence in their own force, and expected successes. They were so certain of defeating us, that they were already contriving how to cut us off from all means of retreat. Thus Wurmser was, in perspective, surrounding the whole French army by anticipation: conceiving that army to be so completely chained down to the defence of Mantua, that to surround that fixed point, was to surround the army, which he regarded as inseparable from the siege.

IV. *Wurmser debouches by Montebaldo, by the road from Roveredo to Verona, and by that of the Chiesa, on the 29th of July.*—At the end of July the head-quarters of the French army were re-

moved to Brescia. On the 28th, at ten in the evening, the French general set out from Brescia to visit his advanced posts. Having reached Peschiera at daybreak on the 29th, he there learned that Corona and Montebaldo were attacked by considerable forces. At eight o'clock in the morning he arrived at Verona. At two o'clock in the afternoon the enemy's light troops appeared on the tops of the mountains which divide Verona from the Tyrol, and engaged with our troops. The General-in-chief retired during the whole of the evening, and fixed his head-quarters at Castelnuovo, between the Adige and the Mincio, where he was better able to receive the reports of the whole line.

In the course of the night, he learned that Joubert, having been attacked at Corona by a whole army, had resisted during the whole day; but had subsequently fallen back on the level of Rivoli, which was occupied by Massena in great strength; that numerous lines of fires covered all the mountains between the lake of Garda and the Adige; that on the heights of Verona the fires gave reason to believe that towards the evening the enemy's troops had increased in that quarter; that on the side of Montebello, Vicenza, Bassano, and Lignano, there were neither movements nor enemy; but that on the side of Brescia three hostile divisions had debouched by the valley of the Chiesa. One covered the heights of

Saint Osetto, appearing to be directed on Brescia; another had taken up a position at Gavardo, and seemed directed on Ponte-Marco and Lonato; the third had made for Salo, where the contest had already begun.

A little after, he was informed that the Saint Osetto division of the enemy had already advanced its van to Brescia, where it had met with no resistance, since only 300 convalescents had been left there to guard the hospitals. Thus the communication of the army with Milan, by Brescia, being interrupted, we could now communicate with that city only by way of Cremona.

Light horsemen belonging to the enemy appeared on all the roads leading from Brescia to Milan, Cremona, and Mantua, announcing every where that an army of 80,000 men had debouched by Brescia, whilst another of 100,000 men was debouching by Verona.

Napoleon also learned that the division of the enemy directed on Salo had come to action with Soret; who, having gained intelligence of the other two divisions which were advancing towards Brescia and Lonato, had been apprehensive of being cut off from Brescia and the army; and had thought it expedient to fall back on the heights of Dezenzano, in order to keep up his communications; that he had left General Guyeux at Salo, with 1500 men in an ancient castle, a kind of fortress, secure from any sudden assault; that

the enemy's division of Gavardo had advanced some light-horse on Ponte-San-Marco; but that they had been held in check by a company of light-infantry posted there.

V. *Grand and prompt resolution taken by the French General.—Action of Salo.—Action of Lonato, 31st of July.*—Wurmser's plan of attack was now discovered. The French army alone opposed to all these forces could do nothing, but opposed to each of them separately it would be on an equality.

The French General instantly formed his determination. The enemy had taken the lead in moving, which he hoped to preserve; the French general resolved to disconcert his plans by taking the lead himself. Wurmser supposed the French army fixed to the position of Mantua. Napoleon instantly resolved to make the army moveable, by raising the seige of that place, sacrificing his battering train, and rapidly advancing on one of these corps, with the whole collective strength of his army, in order to return successively to attack each of the other corps. The right of the Austrian army, which had debouched by the Chiesa and Brescia road, being the most advanced, he advanced against it first.

Serrurier burnt his carriages and his platforms, threw his powder into the water, buried his shot, spiked his guns, and raised the siege of Mantua in the night of the 31st of July.

Augereau marched from Legnago to Borghetto

on the Mincio. Throughout the 30th, Massena defended the heights between the Adige and the lake of Garda. Dallemagne marched on Lonato.

The General-in-chief ascended the heights in the rear of Dezenzano. He made Soret march back to Salo, to extricate General Guyeux, who was compromised in the bad position in which Soret had left him. Nevertheless this General had withstood a whole division of the enemy for forty-eight hours: five times they had attacked him by assault, and five times he had strewed the avenues with their dead. Soret came up at the very moment when the enemy were making a last effort; he fell on their flanks, defeated them entirely, took some colours, and disengaged Guyeux.

At the same time the Austrian division of Gavardo had marched on Lonato to take up a *position on the heights*, and endeavour to effect their junction with Wurmser on the Mincio. The General-in-chief himself led Dallemagne's brigade against that division. *This brigade* performed prodigies of valour; the 32d formed part of it. The enemy was defeated, put to flight, and suffered great loss.

These two divisions of the enemy, beaten by Soret and Dallemagne, *rallied* at Gavardo. Soret, fearful of *compromising himself*, returned and took up an intermediate position between Salo and Dezenzano.

In the mean time Wurmser had caused his artillery and cavalry to pass the bridges of Verona. Being master of all the country between the Adige and the Lake of Garda, he posted one of his divisions on the heights of Peschiera, to mask that place and keep up his communications. He directed two others, with part of his cavalry, on Borghetto, to gain possession of the bridge over the Mincio, and to debouch on the Chiesa, in order to place himself in communication with his right. Lastly, with his two last divisions of infantry and the rest of his cavalry, he marched on Mantua to oblige the French to raise the siege of that place. Twenty-four hours had elapsed since the French troops had evacuated all their positions *before Mantua:* Wurmser found the trenches and batteries there still complete, the guns dismounted and spiked, and the wrecks of carriages, platforms, and stores of all kinds strewed about in every direction. The precipitancy with which these measures seemed to have been effected must have delighted him extremely; all that he saw around him appeared much more like the result of panic terror, than of a deliberate plan.

Massena, after having held the enemy in check throughout the 30th, passed the Mincio, at Peschiera, in the night, and continued his march on Brescia. The Austrian division which *appeared before Peschiera,* found the right bank of the Mincio lined with skirmishers furnished *by the*

garrison, and by a rear-guard left by Massena, which had orders *to dispute the* passage of the Mincio, and to rally at Lonato when the passage should be forced.

Augereau, in marching on Brescia, had passed the Mincio at Borghetto. He had cut down the bridge, and likewise left a rear-guard to line the river, with orders to rally at Castiglionè when it should be forced.

The general in chief marched all the night of the 31st July, with Augereau's and Massena's divisions on Brescia, where they arrived at ten o'clock in the morning. The division of the enemy at Brescia, learning that the whole of the French army was debouching upon them by all the roads, took good care not to wait for it, and fell back precipitately. When the Austrians entered Brescia, they found all our sick and convalescents there; but their stay was so short, and their departure so hasty, that they had not time to reconnoitre or dispose of their prisoners.

General Lespinois and Adjutant-general Herbin, with several battalions each, were sent in pursuit of the enemy towards Saint Osetto, *and the debouches of the Chiesa.*

The two divisions of Augereau and Massena *returned,* by a rapid countermarch, on the side of the Mincio, whence they had proceeded, *to support their rear-guard.*

VI. *Battle of Lonato, August* 3.—On the 2d of

August, Augereau whose division formed the right, occupied Monte-chiaro; Massena's division forming the centre, was encamped at Ponte-Marco, connected with that of Soret, which, forming the left, occupied an eminence between Salo and Dezenzano, facing to the rear, in order to check the whole of the enemy's right.

In the mean time the rear-guard which Augereau and Massena had left on the Mincio, had retired before the divisions of the enemy which had passed that river. That of Augereau, which had orders to join at Castiglione, quitted its post too soon, and returned in disorder to join its corps.

Napoleon, dissatisfied with General Valette, who commanded it, cashiered him before the troops, for not having evinced more firmness on this occasion. As for General Pigeon, who commanded Massena's rear-guard, he returned in good order on Lonato, according to his instructions, and there established himself.

The enemy, taking advantage of General Valette's error, took possession of Castiglione on the 2d, and intrenched themselves there.

On the 3d the battle of Lonato took place; on the part of the enemy, Wurmser's two divisions from Borghetto, and one brigade of the division which had remained at Peschiera, were engaged, forming a total of about 30,000 men. The French had from 20 to 23,000, and their success was not

doubtful. Wurmser, with the two divisions of infantry, and the cavalry which he had taken to Mantua, could not be present at this action.

At the dawn of day the enemy advanced on Lonato, which place they attacked briskly; by this point they intended to form their junction with their right, respecting which they now began to entertain apprehensions. Massena's vanguard was overthrown, the enemy took Lonato. The general in chief, who was at Ponte-Marco, marched in person to retake Lonato. The Austrian general's line having been extended too far, still with the intention of gaining on his right in order to open his communications with Salo, was penetrated, Lonato taken at the charge, and the enemy's line intersected. Part of their force fell back on the Mincio, the remainder on Salo; but the latter were met by General Soret in front, and had General Hilaire in rear. Turned on every side, they were obliged to lay down arms.

Although we sustained an attack in the centre, we were the assailants on the right. As soon as it was day, Augereau attacked the enemy who covered Castiglione, and broke them, after an obstinate engagement, in which the valour of the troops made up for their deficiency in numbers. The enemy suffered great loss; Castiglione was taken from them, and they retired on Mantua, whence their first reinforcements came, but not until the action was over. We lost many brave

men in this desperate affair: the army regretted, in particular, General Beyrand and Colonel Pourailler, very distinguished officers.

VIII. *Surrender of three divisions of the enemy's right, and part of their centre.*—The three divisions of the right of the enemy's army received intelligence of the battle of Lonato during the night; they already heard the cannon, and they became extremely disheartened. Their junction with the principal corps of the army was now become impossible. They had, moreover, seen *several* French *divisions* near them, which they supposed to be still manœuvring against them. *The French army* seemed to them innumerable; they beheld it in every direction.

Wurmser had detached a part of his troops from Mantua towards Marcaria, in pursuit of Serrurier. He was obliged to lose some time in effecting the return of these troops on *Castiglione.* On the 4th he was not ready for action. He employed the whole day in re-assembling his troops, re-organizing those which had fought at Lonato, and supplying his artillery with fresh stores.

When the French general went, about two or three in the afternoon, to reconnoitre his line of battle, he found it formidable; it still presented 40,000 fighting men. He gave orders to intrench at Castiglione, and set out himself for Lonato, in order to superintend, in person, the movement

of his troops, which it became of the highest importance to him to collect during the night, about Castiglione. Throughout the day, Soret and Herbin on one side, and Dallemagne and Saint Hilaire on the other, had followed the march of the three divisions of the enemy's right, *and of those cut off from the centre on the day of the battle of Lonato,* pursuing them as closely as possible, and making prisoners at every step. Whole battalions had laid down arms at Saint-Osetto, others at Gavardo, and others were wandering about in perplexity in the neighbouring vallies. Four or five thousand of the latter were informed by the peasants that there were not above 1200 French in Lonato; they marched thither in hopes of opening a passage towards the Mincio. It was four o'clock in the afternoon; Napoleon, on his side, was entering the town, coming from Castiglione. A flag of truce was announced to him; and whilst the troops were getting under arms, he learned that columns of the enemy were debouching by Ponte San-Marco, that they intended entering Lonato, and had summoned that town to surrender.

We were, however, masters of Salo and Gavardo; it was therefore evident that these could only be straggling columns trying to open themselves a passage. Napoleon ordered his numerous staff to mount their horses; he then had the officer who came to parley brought before him,

and caused the bandage to be taken from his eyes in the midst of all the bustle of the head quarters of a commander-in-chief. " Go tell your Gene- " ral," said he, " that I give him eight minutes " to lay down arms. He is in the midst of the " French army; after the expiration of that time, " no hope remains for him."

These 4 or 5000 men, who had been harassed for three days, wandering in uncertainty, not knowing what was to become of them, in the persuasion that they had been deceived by the peasants, laid down their arms. This circumstance alone may convey an idea of the disorder and confusion of these Austrian divisions, which, after being beaten at Salo, Lonato, and Gavardo, and pursued in every direction, were already almost disorganized. All the rest of the fourth, and the whole of the night, were passed in rallying all the colums, and concentrating them at Castiglione.

VIII. *Battle of Castiglione, August* 5.—*Before day-break on the* 5*th, the French army, completely united,* consisting of 25,000 men, including Serrurier's division, occupied the height of Castiglione, an excellent position. General Serrurier, with the division which came from the siege of Mantua, had received orders to march all night, and to fall on the rear of Wurmser's left at dawn. His attack was to be the signal for battle. A great moral success was anticipated from this unex-

pected attack; and to make it the more sensible *the French army made a feint* of falling back.

As soon as the first guns fired by the corps of Serrurier (who being ill, General Fiorella commanded for him) were heard, the army advanced briskly on the enemy, falling on troops whose confidence was already shaken, and who *no longer possessed* their original ardour. A hillock in the midst of the plain formed a strong appui for the enemy's left. Adjutant-general Verdier was ordered to attack it; Marmont, Aide-de-camp *to the General-in-chief*, advanced upon it with twenty pieces of artillery; the post was carried. Massena attacked the right, Augereau the centre, Fiorella took the left in flank; we were victorious in every direction, the enemy was completely routed. Nothing but the excessive fatigue of the French troops could have saved the wreck of Wurmser's division; they fled, in disorder, beyond the Mincio, where Wurmser was in hopes of being able to maintain himself; he would there have had the advantage of remaining in communication with Mantua. But Augereau's division directed its march on Borghetto, and that of Massena on Peschiera.

General Guillaume, commandant of the latter place, who had been left there with only 400 men, had walled up the gates, the better to defend himself. It would have required forty-eight hours to disencumber them. The soldiers were obliged

to leap upon the ramparts in order to reach the enemy. The Austrian troops which occupied Peschiera were fresh. They long maintained the action against the 18th of the line; but they were at last broken, and lost eighteen pieces of cannon and many prisoners.

The General-in-chief marched with Serrurier's division on Verona. He reached that place in the night of the 7th. Wurmser had caused the gates to be shut, wishing to gain the night for carrying off his baggage; but the gates were battered down by cannon, and the city entered. The Austrians lost many men there. Augereau's division, finding some obstacles to its passage at Borghetto, returned to pass the river at Peschiera.

Wurmser, having lost all hopes of maintaining the line of the Mincio, endeavoured to preserve the important positions of Montebaldo, and Roca d'Anfo. General Saint Hilaire marched on Roca d'Anfo, attacked the enemy in the valley of Lodron, and took many prisoners from him. Riva was taken, and Wurmser compelled to burn his flotilla. Massena marched on Montebaldo, and retook Corona. Augereau re-ascended the left bank of the Adige, following the ridges of the mountains, and reached Ala. The enemy suffered considerable losses in the skirmishes by which his retreat was accompanied. His troops were entirely discouraged.

After the loss of two such battles as those of Lonato and Castiglione, Wurmser must have known that he could not dispute the positions which the French might wish to occupy to secure the line of the Adige. He retreated to Roveredo and Trente. The French army itself stood in need of repose. Wurmser's forces, after all his defeats, were still equal to ours; but with this difference, that one battalion of the army of Italy was now enough to put four of the enemy's to flight; and that cannon, prisoners, and military stores, were picked up on all sides.

Wurmser had, it is true, re-victualled the garrison of Mantua; but out of the whole of his fine army he now brought back not more than from 40 to 45,000 men, including his cavalry. Besides, nothing could equal the discouragement and demoralization of this fine army, since its reverses, except the extreme confidence with which it had been inspired at the opening of the campaign.

Wurmser's plan, which might have succeeded under other circumstances, or against another man than his antagonist, was, nevertheless calculated to fail as it did; and although, at the first glance, the defeat of that fine and numerous army, in so few days, seems attributable only to the talents of the French General, who continually invented new manœuvres, on the spur of the occasion, against a general plan previously con-

certed, it must be owned that this plan was formed on erroneous foundations. It was an error to make corps which had no communication amongst themselves, act separately *in the face of a centralized army*, whose communications were easy. The right could only communicate with the centre by way of Roveredo and Lodron. It was again a second error, to subdivide the corps of the right, and to assign different objects to these different divisions. That which was at Brescia found no force opposed to it, and that which reached Lonato had to contend with troops which the day before were at Verona before the *Austrians* left, now opposed by no enemy in front. There were very good troops in the Austrian army, but there were also some very indifferent; those which came with Wurmser from the Rhine were excellent, and animated with the hope of victory; but all the establishments of Beaulieu's old army, which had been defeated in so many actions, carried discouragement with them. One of Wurmser's dispositions, which turned out most disastrous, was that of composing the greater part of his right of Hungarians, awkward troops, who, when once routed, were unable to extricate themselves from the mountains; and, on account of their language, could not make themselves understood.

IX. *Second Siege of Mantua.*—The first few days succeeding the raising of the blockade of

Mantua were employed by the garrison in destroying the works of the besiegers, and in getting in the pieces of artillery and the stores *which they found.* But the speedy defeat of Wurmser soon brought the French back before the place. The loss of the battering train left them no hopes of being able to besiege it. That train, formed with great pains out of pieces taken from different fortresses in Italy, was almost wholly lost. Besides the weather was growing too bad; the opening of the trenches, and the duty in them, would have been too dangerous for the troops at the moment when the malignity of the climate was about to commence its ravages. The *French General,* therefore, not having at hand a train which would have ensured his taking Mantua in six weeks, would not think of forming a second, which would not have been ready until the moment when new events might have again exposed him to a similar loss, by obliging him to raise the siege a second time. He therefore contented himself with a simple blockade. General Sahuget was entrusted with it; he attacked Governolo, and General Dallemagne Borgo-Forte; they took those places, as well as the whole of the Seraglio, drove the enemy into the place, and increased the strictness of the blockade to the utmost. The number of redoubts and fortifications round the place was assiduously increased, in order to employ as few troops as pos-

sible; for the number of the besiegers decreased daily through the ravages of fever; and it was foreseen with terror that these ravages would increase in the autumn. It is true that the garrison was subjected to the same evils and the same diminution.

X. *Conduct of the different people of Italy during this crisis.*—In the mean time the situation of Italy, during the few days which had just elapsed, had been an absolute revelation. All the passions had shewn themselves in open day; every one threw off the mask. The enemy's party shewed itself at Cremona, at Casal-Major, and some sparks appeared at Pavia. In general Lombardy shewed a good spirit; at Milan, particularly, the whole populace shewed great constancy and much fortitude: they gained our confidence, and deserved the arms which they incessantly and earnestly asked for. The French general accordingy wrote to them, in the height of his satisfaction: "When the French army beat "a retreat, when the partisans of Austria and "the enemies of liberty considered it lost beyond "redemption, when you yourselves could not "possibly suspect that this retreat was only a "stratagem, you shewed your attachment to "France, and your love of liberty; you displayed "a zeal and firmness by which you have deserved "the esteem of the French army, and will merit "the protection of the French republic."

"Your people continually become more worthy "of liberty, acquiring increased energy daily. "No doubt they will one day appear with glory "on the theatre of the world. Accept the assur- "ance of my satisfaction, and of the sincere "wishes of the French people to see you free "and happy."

The inhabitants of Bologna, Ferrara, Reggio, and Modena, shewed themselves truly interested in our cause. Parma remained faithful to its armistice; but the regency of Modena acted in open hostility to us. At Rome the French were insulted in the *streets;* their expulsion from Italy was proclaimed. The fulfilment of those conditions of the armistice which had not yet been performed was suspended. The General in chief might have punished such conduct; but other considerations carried him elsewhere, and obliged him to postpone the chastisement, if the negotiations should not produce repentance. Cardinal Mattei, Archbishop of Ferrara, shewed his joy at the raising of the siege of Mantua. He called on the populace to rise against the French. He took possession of the *citadel* of Ferrara, and there hoisted the Pope's colours. The Pope also sent a legate thither, whereby he violated the armistice. After the battle of Castiglione, the French General had Mattei arrested and taken to Brescia. The Cardinal, confused, answered only by this single word, PECCAVI, which disarmed Napoleon,

who contented himself with putting him, for three months, in a seminary at Brescia. This Cardinal was afterwards the Pope's plenipotentiary at Tolentino. He was of a princely Roman family; a man of narrow mind, and limited talents; but who was supposed to be sincerely devout. He was minutely scrupulous in all the observances of religion. After the death of Pope Pius VI. the Court of Vienna made great exertions in the conclave at Venice to get him elected Pope, but did not succeed. *Chiaramonti, Bishop of Incola, gained the election, and took the name of Pius VII.*

N. B. of the Editor, written under dictation. The Report mentions only 20,000 men brought from the Rhine by Wurmser. The chapter says 30,000, and is right. The inequality of strength between the two armies was always so great that the French General, in his reports, frequently thought it necessary to diminish the number of the enemy, lest he should discourage his own army. This explains the numerical differences which sometimes occur between the work and the official documents.

BATTLE OF ARCOLE.

Of the offensive operations of Alvinzi, from the 2d of November, 1796, to the entire expulsion of his army on the 21st of November following, a space of nineteen days. (See the map.)

I. *Marshal Alvinzi takes the command of the new Austrian army; his force.*—The French armies of the Rhine, and of the Sambre and Meuse, had been beaten in Germany; they had repassed the Rhine. These advantages consoled the court of Vienna for its losses in Italy. They gave them an opportunity of humbling the pride of the French in this quarter. The Austrian Government therefore gave orders to form an army, disengage Mantua, deliver Wurmser, and avenge the disgrace its armies had sustained in this country. Four divisions of infantry and one of cavalry were accordingly assembled in Friuli, and two in the Tyrol, making together 60,000 men. These troops were composed of strong detachments from the victorious armies of Germany; of skeleton regiments of Wurmser's army, recruited, and of an extraordinary levy of 15,000 croats.

The chief command was given to Marshal Alvinzi, and the Tyrolese partizan corps, of about 18,000 men, was entrusted to General Davidowich. The Senate of Venice secretly seconded the Austrians; being convinced that the success of the French cause would be the ruin of its aristocracy. That Government daily saw the disposition of its continental subjects grow worse towards it, and heard them call aloud for a revolution. The Court of Rome had taken off the mask; and finding itself compromised since Wurmser's defeat, it now looked for safety only in the success of Austria. It fulfilled none of the conditions of the armistice of Bologna; it perceived with terror that the French General was temporizing, and that by feigned moderation and prolonged negotiations, he was postponing the moment of punishment. The Court of Rome was also inspirited by the Austrian victories in Germany; and being exactly informed of the small number of the French, and the great proportion of sick in their army, it was exerting all its physical means in levying troops, and its moral means in persuading the minds of the people, by means of the convents and priests, of the weakness of the French, and the irresistible force of the Austrians.

II *Good condition of the French army; the opinion of the people of Italy favourable to its success.*—The French General had long cherished the hope

of receiving new reinforcements. He had forcibly represented to the Directory either that the armies of the North must repass the Rhine, or that 50,000 men must be sent to his assistance. Promises were made him which were never realized; and all the succours that were sent him amounted only to four regiments detached from la Vendée; the disposition of which province was improved. These regiments consisting of about 8,000 men, arrived at different times in the course of two months. They were of great assistance; they made up for the losses experienced in the preceding months, and kept up the effective army to its usual number of 30,000 combatants. The letters from the Tyrol, Friuli, Venice, and Rome, constantly *spoke* of the great preparations making against the French; but on this occasion the more declared disposition of the people and other circumstances, put quite a different face on the affairs of Italy. It was no longer *as* before Lonato and Castiglione. The prodigies performed by the French, and the numerous defeats sustained by the Austrians, had changed the direction of public opinion. On the former occasion three fourths of the Italians thought it impossible for the French to preserve their conquest: but now three fourths of the same people believed it would never be in the power of the Austrians to wrest it from them. Care was taken that the arrival of the four regi-

ments from France should make a great noise. Their movements were made by battalions, which formed twelve columns. Every endeavour was employed to make the inhabitants and part of the army believe that the reinforcement consisted of twelve regiments. *It was believed* that provisions were scarce in Mantua, and that this place would infallibly be reduced before the Austrian army could recommence the contest, so that our troops *heard* the preparations of *Austria talked of*, without any diminution of their confidence. They seemed certain of victory. The army was well fed, paid, and clothed; its artillery was numerous and well horsed; its cavalry weak in point of number, indeed, but wanting for nothing, and in the best possible condition.

The population of all the countries occupied by our army, made at present, common cause with us. Their most earnest prayers were poured forth for our success. The disposition of the countries beyond the Po was such that they might even suffice to keep in check the levies which the Cardinal Secretary of State at Rome called the Pope's army. That miserable court, destitute of genius, courage, talents, and good faith, was in no respect formidable.

III. *Action of the Brenta.—Vaubois evacuates the Tyrol in disorder.* At the beginning of November, the head quarters of the Austrian army were at Conegliano, and numerous *posts* were distributed

on the *left* bank of the Piave. In the Tyrol, corps opposed to each of ours were formed on the line of the Avisio; the enemy appeared in force in all directions. Alvinzi's scheme was perfectly evident; he would not attack by the Tyrol, like Wurmser; he was fearful of engaging in the mountains. He ascribed the success of *Lonato and Castiglione* to the superior intelligence and dexterity of the French soldier. He therefore resolved to make his principal attack by the plain, and to reach the Adige by the Veronese, Vicentine, and Paduan. On the 2d of November, this general threw two bridges over the Piave, and advanced on Bassano with from 49 to 50,000 men. Massena, posted in observation, kept back all his columns, forced him to deploy all his forces, gained several days, and fell back on Vicenza, where he was joined by the French General, who brought Augereau's division with him, as well as a brigade from Mantua, and had immediately from 20 to 22,000 men at his disposal. Napoleon's plan was to defeat Alvinzi, and then to proceed on Trent, by a movement inverse to that which he had made shortly before, and to take in rear the army which was operating in the Tyrol. Alvinzi, who had passed the Brenta, was attacked on the 5th, and overthrown. All his divisions were repulsed beyond that river.

But Vaubois, who had been engaged with th enemy ever since the 2d of November, had not

been able to maintain himself, either at Trent, or in any intermediate position. His division, no longer disputing the ground, was retiring in a disorderly manner on Verona. Every thing seemed to give reason to apprehend, that the position of Corona and Montebaldo *would be insufficient to stop the enemy's progress. The siege of Mantua was thought to be in danger.* The General-in-chief was therefore obliged to retrograde on Verona, and to reach it in time to rally Vaubois, and *secure* the positions of Montebaldo and Rivoli. He reviewed Vaubois' division on the level of Rivoli. "Soldiers," he said to them, in a severe tone, "I am not satisfied with you. You have shown neither discipline nor constancy. You have yielded on the first reverse. No position was sufficient for you to rally at. There were some in your retreat which were impregnable. Soldiers of the 85th and 39th, you are no longer French soldiers. Give me those colours, and let me have written on them, 'They belong no more to the army of Italy!'" A gloomy silence prevailed throughout the ranks, and these old soldiers were seen, in the emotion of the moment, to derange their arms whilst they wiped away their tears. The General-in-chief was obliged to say a few consolatory words to them. "General," they cried, "*place us in the vanguard*, and you shall see whether we belong to the army of Italy!" In fact, these regiments, which

were the most severely blamed, were placed in the vanguard, and there covered themselves with glory.

IV. *Battle of Caldiero, 12th November.*—Alvinzi's operations were already crowned with the completest success: he was now master of the whole of the Tyrol, and of all the country between the Brenta and the Adige; but the most difficult task yet remained to be performed: this was, to force the passage of the Adige in the face of the French army. The road from Verona to Vicenza runs by the side of the Adige for three leagues, and never leaves the direction of *the river, except* at Villa Nuova, where it turns perpendicularly to the left, *in the direction* of Vicenza: at Villa-Nuova, the little stream of the Alpon crosses the high road, and, after passing through Arcole, enters the Adige between Ronco and Albaredo. To the left of Villa-Nuova are heights, which present very fine positions, known by the name of Caldiero. By occupying these positions, a part of the Adige is kept, Verona is covered, and an opportunity is preserved of falling on the rear of the enemy, should he direct his course to the lower Adige.

The French general had scarcely *secured* the defence of Montebaldo, and restored confidence to Vaubois' troops, when he resolved to occupy Caldiero, as affording more chances for defence, and more energy to his attitude. He de-

bouched on the 11th from Verona, with Verdier's brigade at the head of his columns, overthrew the enemy's vanguard, and speedily reached the foot of Caldiero. But Alvinzi himself had occupied this position, which is equally good against Verona.

On the 12th, at day-break, his whole army was seen on these heights, which he had covered with formidable batteries. When the ground had been reconnoitred, Massena was to attack the heights, and force the enemy's right: the carrying of this height, which the enemy did not keep in a skilful manner, would decide the battle. General Launay marched with his demi-brigade, and took the eminence, but could not maintain himself there, and was taken prisoner. In the meantime the rain was falling in torrents; the road soon became impracticable for our artillery, whilst we were crushed by that of the enemy. To climb the heights in the face of an enemy posted on them, was too disadvantageous an undertaking. The attack was countermanded; and we contented ourselves with maintaining the battle throughout the day. As the rain lasted all that day and the next, the French General determined on returning to the camp at Verona.

The losses in this affair had been equal; the enemy, nevertheless, ascribed the victory to themselves, and with reason. Their advanced posts approached St. Michel, and the situation of the French became truly critical.

V. *Discontent, and various sentiments of the French army.*—Vaubois, who had been defeated in the Tyrol, had suffered considerable loss: he had not at this time more than 6000 men. The other two divisions, after having fought valiantly on the Brenta, had been forced to retreat on Verona, having failed in their operations on Caldiero. The consciousness of the enemy's strength was the predominant sentiment throughout the army. Vaubois' soldiers, in order to justify their retreat in the Tyrol, said, they had fought there one to three. Even the soldiers who had remained in Napoleon's sight thought the enemy too numerous. The two divisions, after their losses, could not muster more than 13,000 men under arms.

The enemy had also sustained losses, it is true, but he had had the advantage: he had acquired a consciousness of superiority; he had been able to reckon at his ease the small number of the French. Accordingly, he had no longer any doubt of the deliverance of Mantua, or of the conquest of Italy. He had collected a great number of ladders, and caused many more to be made, for the purpose of storming Verona. At Mantua, the garrison had recovered itself, made frequent sorties, which incessantly harassed the besiegers, and the troops were too weak to restrain so strong a garrison. We daily heard of some new reinforcement obtained by the enemy, whilst we could hope for none. At the same time the agents of

Austria, Venice, and the Pope, took care to trumpet forth the successes obtained by Alvinzi, and his superiority over us. We were no longer in a condition to act on the offensive in any direction: on one side was the position of Caldiero, which we had been unable to carry: on the other, the passes of the Tyrol, which had just been the scene of Vaubois' defeat. But had we occupied positions allowing of any attempt against him, it would have been precluded by our inferiority in point of numbers. Every thing forbade offensive operations for the present: it was therefore necessary to allow the enemy to take the lead, and to await coolly such operations as they might think fit to attempt. The weather was extremely bad; the rain fell in torrents, and every movement was made in the mud. The affairs of Caldiero and the Tyrol had sensibly affected the resolution of the army. The soldiers still retained, indeed, a sense of their superiority over the enemy, in case of equality of numbers; but they did not think themselves able to withstand them with such great numerical disparity. Many brave men had been wounded twice or thrice in different battles since they entered Italy. Discontent and irritation began to prevail amongst them.

"We cannot, alone," said they, "perform the work of all. Alvinzi's army here, is that before which the armies of the Rhine and of the Sambre and Meuse retreated; and they remain

inactive at this moment. Why should we do their duty? We receive no succours; if we are beaten, we must regain the Alps by a dishonourable flight; if, on the contrary, we conquer, what will our new victory produce? Another army like Alvinzi's will be opposed to us, as Alvinzi himself succeeded Wurmser; and in this ever unequal struggle we must needs be destroyed at last."

Napoleon caused the following reply to be made. "We have only one more effort to make, and Italy is ours. Alvinzi's force is undoubtedly more numerous than ours; but half his troops are mere recruits. When once he is defeated, Mantua must fall; we shall remain masters of Italy; our labours will be terminated, for not only the possession of Italy, but a general peace depend on the taking of Mantua. You wish to retire to the Alps, you are no longer able to do so. From the hard and fatiguing life you led on those barren rocks, it was quite easy to come to win the luxuries of Lombardy; but after the charming flowery bivouacs of Italy, you would not be able to endure the severities and privations of those bleak mountains; you would not now support the snows and frosts of the Alps without a murmur. Reinforcements have reached us; we still expect more; many are on the road. Let those who are unwilling to fight, and who are rich enough already, talk no more about the

future. Beat Alvinzi, and I will answer for the rest."

These words, repeated throughout the army by every one possessed of generous sentiments, raised the spirits of the troops, and inspired them with feelings of a contrary kind. Thus, by turns, the army was at one time disheartened and desirous to retreat; at another, it was filled with enthusiasm, and talked only of fighting.

When it became known at Brescia, Bergamo, Milan, Cremona, Lodi, Pavia, and Bologna, that the French army had sustained a check, the wounded and sick, not yet half cured, left the hospitals and came to join the ranks, with their wounds still bleeding. This affecting sight produced the most lively emotion throughout the troops.

VI. *Nocturnal march of the Army on Ronco, where it passes the Adige on a bridge of boats.*—At length, on the 14th of November, at dusk, the army *encamped at Verona* got under arms. The columns began their march in the deepest silence; they crossed the city, and formed on the right bank. The hour of setting out, the direction taken (which was that of a retreat,) the silence preserved contrary to the constant custom of giving notice, by the order of the day, that preparations were making to engage, and the state of affairs, all combined to place it beyond doubt that we were retreating. This first movement in

retreat, it was thought, which necessarily involves the raising of the siege of Mantua, *forebodes* the loss of all Italy. Those of the inhabitants who founded all their expectations of a better fate on our victories, watched with alarm and grief the movements of that army in which all their hopes were placed.

The army, however, instead of following the Peschiera road, suddenly turns to the left, and marches along the Adige: it arrives before day at Ronco. Andreossy was completing a bridge over the river; and when the first rays of the sun appeared, the army was astonished to find itself, simply by facing to the left, on the opposite bank. The officers and soldiers, who, when in pursuit of Wurmser had traversed this part of the country, now began to guess the general's intention. They perceived that as he could not carry Caldiero, he was turning it: and that being unable, with 12,000 men, to make any impression on 45,000 in the plain, he was drawing them into mere causeways, amongst vast morasses, where numbers would no longer avail any thing, but where the courage of the heads of the columns would be every thing. The hope of victory then reanimated every heart, and every one engaged to surpass his former deeds in support of so fine and so daring a plan.

Kilmaine was left at Verona, with 1500 soldiers of all kinds; the gates were strictly closed, and

all communications severely prohibited. The enemy was perfectly ignorant of our movement.

The bridge of Ronco was thrown across to the right of the Alpon, about a quarter of a league from its mouth. Had it been made to the left bank on the Albaredo side, the army would have passed into a plain; whereas the object was to enter morasses where numbers would be ineffectual. Besides, it was to be apprehended that Alvinzi, if informed of our movements, would march suddenly on Verona, and take possession of it; which would have obliged the corps of Rivoli to retire to Peschiera, and would have compromised that of Ronco. It was therefore requisite to cross to the right bank of the Alpon, so as to fall on the rear of the enemy if they should attack Verona, and thereby support that place by the left bank, which could not have been done if the bridge had been thrown across to the left bank of the Alpon, because the enemy could have lined the right bank of that river, and, thus protected, have carried Verona. These two reasons had determined the placing of the bridge. Now three roads branched from Ronco, where the bridge had been made, all of which were surrounded with morasses. The first leads to Verona, up the Adige; the second to Villa-Nuova, passing by Arcole, where there is a bridge a league and a half from the Adige, over the little stream of

the Alpon; the third runs down the side of the Adige to Albaredo.

VII. *Battle of Arcole, 1st day, 15th of November.*—Three columns directed their march by these three roads. That on the left *re-ascended the Adige* as far as the extremity of the morasses; thence the communication with Verona was unimpeded. This point was one of the utmost importance; by securing it, all apprehensions of seeing Verona attacked by the enemy were removed, because the French would have been in their rear. The column of the right took the road to Albaredo, and occupied it as far as the Alpon. That of the centre advanced on Arcole, where our skirmishers reached the bridge without being perceived. It was five o'clock in the morning, and the enemy knew nothing of our proceedings. The first shots were fired on the bridge of Arcole, where two battalions of Croats, with two pieces of cannon, were in bivouac as a corps of observation, to guard the rear of the army, where were all the parks, and to watch the parties which the garrison of Legnago might detach into the plain. That place was only three leagues off; the enemy had been so negligent as not to advance any posts to the Adige; they looked on this space as impracticable marshes. The interval from Arcole to the Adige was not guarded; the enemy had contented themselves with sending some patrols of hussars, who thrice a day rode over the dykes,

and reconnoitred the Adige. The road from Ronco to Arcole meets the Alpon at two miles from Ronco, and then re-ascends the right bank of that little stream for a mile, up to the bridge, which turns perpendicularly to the right, and enters the village of Arcole. Some Croats were bivouacked, with *their right* supported on the village, and their left towards the mouth of the rivulet. This bivouac had in front *the dyke*, from which it was separated only by the rivulet; by firing in front they took the column, the head of which was advancing on Arcole, in flank. It was necessary to fall back hastily to that point of the road, the side of which was no longer exposed to the left bank. Alvinzi was informed that some firing had taken place at the bridge of Arcole, but he paid little attention to the circumstance. However, at day-break, the movement of the French could be distinguished from Caldiero and the neighbouring steeples. Already the reconnoitring parties of hussars, which every morning rode along the banks of the Adige, to ascertain the events of the night, were received with a fire of musketry on all the dykes, and pursued by the French cavalry. Alvinzi then received from all quarters certain intelligence that the French had passed the Adige, and were in force on all the dykes. It seemed to him folly to suppose that a whole army could thus have been thrown into impracticable morasses. He rather thought it

must be a detachment placed there to harrass him, whilst he should be attacked in force from the side of Verona. But his reconnoitring parties on the Verona side, having brought him intelligence that all was quiet there, Alvinzi thought it necessary to repulse these French troops beyond the Adige, for the security of his rear. He ordered one division to advance by the dyke of Arcole, and another towards the dyke, which *runs parallel with* the Adige, with orders to fall furiously on all they should meet, and drive them *all* into the *river*. Accordingly, towards nine o'clock, these two divisions made a brisk attack. Massena, who was entrusted with the left dyke, having allowed the enemy to advance, charged them furiously, broke them, caused them considerable loss, and took a great number of prisoners. The same thing was done on the dyke of Arcole: they waited until the Austrians had turned the elbow of the bridge; they then charged and routed them, and took many prisoners. It became of the utmost importance to gain possession of Arcole, because that was the point from whence to debouch on the rear of the enemy, before they could be formed. But this bridge of Arcole, by its situation, resisted all our attacks. Napoleon, in person, tried a last effort; he seized a standard, rushed towards the bridge, and fixed it there. The column he led had half cleared the bridge, when the flank fire caused

their attack to fail. The grenadiers of the head of the column, abandoned by the rear, hesitate, they are induced to retire, but they will not abandon their general; they seize him by his arms, his hair, and his clothes, and drag him along with them, in their flight, amidst the dead, the dying, the fire, and smoke. *The General-in-chief* is thrown into a marsh, where he sinks up to the middle; *he is in the midst of the enemy;* but the French perceive that their general is not amongt them. A cry is heard of "Soldiers, forward, to rescue the general!" These brave men instantly turn, and rush upon the enemy; they drive them *beyond the bridge*, and Napoleon is saved. That was a day of military self-devotion. General Lannes had hastened from Milan; he had been wounded at *Governolo;* he was still suffering; yet he threw himself between the enemy and Napoleon, covering him with his body, and received three wounds, resolved never to quit him. Muiron, Aide-de-camp to the General-in-chief, was killed whilst covering his General.—Affecting and heroic death!—Belliard and Vignoles were wounded whilst rallying the *troops* and urging them *forward.* The brave *General* Robert, was killed there.

A bridge was now thrown over at the mouth of the Alpon, in order to take Arcole in rear, but, in the mean time, Alvinzi, informed of the true state of affairs, and excessively alarmed with re-

spect to the danger of his situation, had abandoned Caldiero, destroyed his batteries, and made all his parks, baggage, and reserves, repass the Alpon. From the top of the steeple of Ronco, the French saw with regret the escape of their expected prey; and it was then that, from the precipitate movements of the enemy, the extent and consequences of the French General's plan became apparent. Every one saw what might have been the results of so profound and bold a conception: the enemy's army narrowly escaped destruction. General Guyeux could not march on Arcole, by the left bank of the Alpon, until four o'clock. The village was carried without striking a blow; but this success was then useless; it was six hours too late; the enemy had established themselves in a natural position. Arcole was now merely an intermediate post between the fronts of the two armies. In the morning this village had been in the rear of the enemy.

The results of this day were, however, highly important: Caldiero was evacuated, and Verona was no longer in danger. Two of Alvinzi's divisions had been defeated with considerable loss. Numerous columns of prisoners, and a great number of trophies defiled *through the camp*, filling the soldiers and officers with enthusiasm; and every one resumed confidence, and exulted in victory.

VIII. *Second day, 16th of November.*—In the mean time Davidowich, with his corps from the

Tyrol, had attacked the heights of Rivoli the preceding day. He had forced Vaubois from thence, and obliged him to retreat on Castel-Nuovo. The enemy's light horse already appeared at the gates of Verona. Kilmaine, disengaged from Alvinzi, and relieved from all apprehensions with respect to the left bank, by the evacuation of Caldiero, had directed all his attention to the right bank; but it was to be feared, that if the enemy should march rapidly on Castel-Nuovo, they might overthrow Vaubois, reach Mantua, surprise the besieging army, join the garrison, and cut off the retreat of the head-quarters, and of the army which was at Ronco. It was therefore necessary to be ready, at day-break, to support Vaubois, protect Mantua and its communications, and beat Davidowich, if he had advanced during the day. For the success of this plan it was necessary to calculate the hours. The General resolved, therefore, being uncertain of what had passed in the course of the day, to suppose that Vaubois had been completely unfortunate. He caused Arcole, which had cost so much blood, to be evacuated, and the whole army to fall back on the right bank of the Adige, leaving on the left bank only one brigade and a few pieces of cannon. In this position he ordered the troops to refresh themselves, whilst waiting for intelligence of what might have passed on Vaubois's side during this day. If the enemy had marched

on Castel-Nuovo, it would have been necessary to break up the bridge over the Adige, to withdraw from before Alvinzi, and to be, at ten o'clock, in the rear of Vaubois at *Castel-Nuovo, and overthrow the enemy on Rivoli.* Bivouacs with fires lighted had been left at Arcole, as well as strong piquets, in order that Alvinzi might perceive nothing. At four in the morning the drums beat to arms, in order to prepare for marching. But at the same moment, it was ascertained that Vaubois was still in position half-way between Rivoli and Castel-Nuovo, and that he declared he would answer for holding out all day. Davidowich was the same General who had commanded one of the divisions which Wurmser had caused to debouch by the Chiusa; he remembered the results of those operations, and was not forward to compromise himself. Towards three o'clock in the morning, however, Alvinzi, having received intelligence of the retrograde march of the French, had Arcole occupied immediately, and at dawn directed two columns on the dykes of the Adige and of Arcole, to march against us. The firing began at 200 toises from our bridge; the troops repassed it in charging time, fell on the enemy, broke them, and pursued them briskly to the debouchés of the morasses, which were filled with their dead. Some colours, cannon, and prisoners, were the trophies of this victory, in which two divisions more of Alvinzi's force were defeated.

Towards evening *the French General,* through the same motives and combinations, made the same movement as the preceding day. He concentrated all his troops on the right bank of the Adige, leaving only a vanguard on the left bank.

IX. *Third day,* 17*th of November.*—In the mean time Alvinzi, led into an error by a spy, who assured him that the French General had repassed the Adige, and marched on Mantua, leaving only a rear-guard at Ronco, debouched at daybreak, with the intention of carrying the bridge of Ronco. An instant before day, it was ascertained that nothing had taken place on Vaubois's side, and that Davidowich had made no movement. The French returned to the other side of the Adige. The head of our columns fell in with two more of Alvinzi's divisions half-way up the dykes. An obstinate engagement was fought; our troops *alternately advanced, and fell back. For one moment,* the enemy's balls reached the bridge. The 75th having been broken, the General-in-chief placed the 32d in ambuscade, lying on their faces in a little wood of willows, along the dyke of Arcole. This demi-brigade rose, fired a volley, charged bayonets, and overthrew into the marsh a dense column of the enemy, consisting of 3000 Croats, who all perished there. Massena, on the left, experienced some vicissitudes; but he marched *at the head of his division,* with his hat suspended on his sword, by way of a standard,

and made a horrible carnage of the division *opposed to him.*

After midnight *the French General* concluded that the decisive moment was arrived. For if Vaubois had been beaten during this day by Davidowich, he would be obliged to march the following day, to the assistance of that general and of Mantua. Alvinzi would then immediately advance on Verona, he would reap the honour and advantages of victory; the great success obtained during the last three days would be thrown away. Napoleon had the prisoners carefully counted; recapitulated the losses of the enemy; concluded that their strength had been diminished during these three days by a loss of 20,000 men; that their numbers in battle would therefore be *little more than a third above our own. He gave orders to leave the marshes—and to attack the enemy in the plain.*

The circumstances of these three days had so entirely changed the spirit of the two armies, that we were secure of the victory. The army passed the bridge thrown over at the mouth of the Alpon. Elliot, *Aide-de-camp* to the General-in-chief, being ordered to construct a second, was killed there. At two o'clock in the morning, the French army was in line of battle, its left at Arcole, and its right in the direction of Porto-Lignano; it had the enemy in front, whose right was supported on the Alpon, and whose left had some morasses for

an appui. The enemy had positions on both sides of the road of Montebello. Adjutant Lorcet had set out from Lignano with 6 or 700 men, four pieces of cannon, and 200 horses, to turn the marshes on which the left of the enemy was supported. Towards three o'clock, at the moment when this detachment of the garrison of Lignano marched against the enemy, when the cannonade was brisk throughout the line, and the skirmishers were hotly engaged, the French general ordered Colonel Hercule to proceed with fifty of the corps of guides, and four or five trumpets, through the reeds, and to charge the extremity of the enemy's left, at the same moment as the garrison of Lignano should begin to cannonade it in the rear; which he executed in an intelligent manner, and thereby contributed greatly to the success of the day. The enemy were overthrown on all sides, their line was broken; they lost many prisoners. Alvinzi had placed 7 or 8000 men in *Echelon* in his rear, to secure his retreat, and escort his parks, whereby his line of battle was reduced to equal strength with ours. He was vigorously chased all the rest of the evening. He continued his retreat on Vicenza throughout the night: our cavalry pursued him beyond Montebello.

When Napoleon arrived at Villa-Nuova, he stopped to receive reports of the pursuit of the enemy, and the conduct of their rear-guard. He entered the convent of St. Boniface, the church

of which had served as an hospital. There he found 4 or 500 wounded men, most of them dead; the stench of putrefaction exhaled from the place; he drew back with horror. He heard himself called by his name; two unfortunate French soldiers, wounded, had for three days been left amongst the dead, without anything to eat; their wounds had not been dressed, they despaired of their own lives; but they were recalled to existence by the sight of their general; every assistance was speedily rendered to them.

The French general visited the heights of Caldiero, and resumed his march towards Verona. When half way there, he met an Austrian staff officer sent by Davidowich to Alvinzi. This young man thought himself in the midst of his friends. According to his dispatches, there had been no communication between the two armies for three days. Davidowich was ignorant of all that had happened.

X. *The French army re-enters Verona in triumph by the right bank.*—Napoleon entered triumphantly into Verona by the right bank, three days after having left that city in a mysterious manner by the Milan gate. It would be difficult to conceive the astonishment and enthusiasm of the inhabitants; our most declared enemies could not remain indifferent, and added their applause to that of our friends. The French general crossed to the right bank of the Adige, and advanced on Davidowich

who was still at Rivoli. That general was driven from post to post, and hotly pursued as far as Roveredo. It is calculated that out of Alvinzi's 60 or 70,000 men, he lost in these affairs from 30 to 35,000; and these were the best of his troops.

But these great results were not obtained without losses, and the army stood, more than ever, in need of rest. The French general did not think fit to re-enter the Tyrol, and extend his forces as far as Trent. He contented himself with having Montebello, Corona, and the passes of the Chiusa and Adige occupied. Alvinzi rallied at Bassano, and Davidowich at Trent. It was however to be expected that Mantua would soon be obtained, before the Austrian general could receive a new army. The frequent sorties of Wurmser to obtain a few provisions, the great number of lean deserters who came in, and had been a month kept on half rations, the destitute state of his hospitals and the great number of his sick were all calculated to excite hopes of a speedy surrender.

BATTLE OF RIVOLI.

From the offensive operations of Provera, on the 1st of January 1797, to the surrender of Mantua, on the 1st of February following, a space of one month, (See the map.)

I. *State of Italy.*—Venice was making new levies of Sclavonians; new battalions of them arrived daily on the Lagunes; the various parties were on the alert in all the cities of the Venetian territory. The citadels of Verona and Brescia were in the possession of the French troops. Some troubles which happened at Bergamo, made it evidently necessary to occupy the citadel there, of which General Baraguey d'Hilliers took possession accordingly. The negotiations with Rome were kept on, *but did not proceed:* experience had proved that *nothing could be done with that court but by threats and the presence of force. The General-in-chief* announced at Milan his departure for Rome. He dispatched *General Lahosse with* 4000 Italians for Bologna; directed a body of 3000 French on the same city, and gave notice to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, that his troops would

traverse the states of that Prince in their way to Perugia; he actually set out himself, and went to Bologna. Manfredini went thither to meet him, for the purpose of taking care of his master's interest; and returned with the conviction that the French general was marching on Rome. For this once the court was not the dupe of all these appearances, but remained unmoved. It was perfectly acquainted with all the plans adopted at Vienna, and had hopes of their success. When, however, it found that the French general was at Bologna, the Secretary of State was astonished; but the Austrian Minister kept up his courage, by convincing him that nothing could be more favourable to their views than to draw the French general far into the interior of Italy, and that even should it be necessary to quit Rome, it would be a fortunate event, as it would more effectually secure the defeat of the French on the Adige.

II. *Situation of the Austrian army.*—Alvinzi *daily* received considerable reinforcements. The Paduan, the Trevisan, and all the Bassanese countries were *covered* with Austrian troops. Two months had elapsed since the battle of Arcole; Austria had profited by this interval, to bring into Friuli the divisions drawn from the banks of the Rhine, where the French armies were inactive and in complete winter quarters. One general impulse had been given to the whole Austrian monarchy. Several battalions of excellent marks-

men were raised in the Tyrol; it was an easy matter to persuade them that it was necessary to defend their territory, and to assist in the reconquest of Italy, so essential to the prosperity of the Tyrol. The successes of Austria, in Germany, during the last campaign, and her reverses in Italy, had roused *public spirit*. The great cities offered battalions of volunteers; Vienna furnished four: thus was *a reinforcement* of ten or twelve thousand volunteers raised. The battalions of Vienna received from the Empress colours embroidered with her own hands. *They lost them*, but defended them honourably. The army of Austria was composed of eight divisions of unequal strength, of several brigades of cavalry incorporated with these divisions; and of two divisions of cavalry. His army was estimated at more than 80,000 fighting men.

III. *Situation of the French army.*—The French army had been reinforced, since the battle of Arcole, by two regiments of infantry drawn from the coasts of Provence, of which the 57th was part, and by a regiment of cavalry. *This made up about* five or six thousand men; and repaired the losses sustained at Arcole, and in the blockade of Mantua. Joubert, with a strong division, occupied Montebaldo, Rivoli, and Busselengo. Rey, with a division of less force, was in reserve at Dezenzano. Massena was at Verona, with a vanguard at St. Michel. Augereau at Legnago,

with a vanguard at Bevilaqua. Serrurier was blockading Mantua. Corona was covered with intrenchments. The castles of Verona and of Legnago were in good condition, as well as Peschiera and Pizzeghettone. The citadels of Brescia and Bergamo, the fort of Fuente, the citadel of Ferrara, and fort Urbino, were occupied. A naval armament on the Lake of Garda secured us the possession of that Lake. Armed barks placed on Lake Maggiore and the Lake of Como, kept up a strict police thereon.

IV. *Plan of operations adopted by the Court of Vienna.* Wurmser had debouched in three columns; his right by the road of the Chiusa, beyond the Lake of Garda, his centre by Montebaldo, between the Lake of Garda and the Adige; his left by the left bank of the Adige. Some months afterwards Alvinzi had attacked in two columns; the one operating in the Tyrol, the other on the Piave, the Brenta, and the Adige. *But the battles of Lonato, Castiglione, and Arcole, had defeated those two plans of campaign. The Court of Vienna adopted, this time, a new plan,* which was connected with the operations of Rome. It was determined that the Austrian army should make two grand attacks; the first by Montebaldo, as Wurmser had done; the second on the Adige by the plains of the Paduan country. That the two corps which were to execute these attacks should have nothing in

common between them; that they should march independently of each other, so that if one should succeed, the first object would be gained, and the blockade of Mantua raised. The principal corps was to debouch by the Tyrol, and if it should defeat the French army, it would arrive under the walls of Mantua, and there effect its junction with the second corps acting on the Adige. If, on the contrary, the principal attack should be defeated, and the second corps should succeed, the siege of Mantua would equally be raised, and the place re-provisioned. This army would then march to the Seraglio, and establish its communications with Rome. Marshal Wurmser would take the command of the army which was in Romania. The great number of generals, officers, and dismounted cavalry, who would be found at Mantua, would serve to discipline the Pope's army, and make a diversion which would oblige the French General to have also two armies, one on the left, the other on the right bank of the Po.

A very intelligent secret agent sent from Vienna, was seized by a French sentinel, as he was clearing the last post of the French army before Mantua. He was forced to give up his dispatches, which he had swallowed, inclosed in a little ball of sealing wax. This dispatch was a little letter written in a very minute hand, signed by the Emperor Francis. It was to inform

Wurmser that he would speedily be extricated. At all events it ordered him not to surrender himself prisoner; but rather to evacuate the place and pass the Po, which he could do as he was master of the Seraglio; and to proceed to the states of the Pope, where he was to take the command of that potentate's army. The Emperor of Austria supposed, as may be seen, that Wurmser was master of the Seraglio; he was, however, ill informed.

V. *Action of St. Michel.*—In execution of the plan adopted by the Court of Vienna, Provera had the command of the army intended to act on the Adige, to pass that river, and advance on Mantua. The volunteer battalions of Vienna composed part of the army, which consisted of three divisions, containing 25,000 men. In the beginning of January, Provera removed his head-quarters to Padua. On the 12th he marched with two divisions, on Montagna, where the vanguard of Augereau, commanded by the brave General Duphot was stationed. At the same instant the third Austrian division, which had taken up a position in the heights of Caldiero, marched on St. Michel to attack Massena's vanguard, whose head-quarters were at Verona; this was a false attack. General Duphot being attacked at daybreak by the vanguard of Provera, composed of the volunteers of Vienna, easily checked and repulsed them. But about noon,

the whole Austrian army having deployed, Duphot retreated, and repassed the Adige at Legnago. The division which formed Provera's right, and which attacked St. Michel, was the weakest. General Massena marched from Verona to the aid of his vanguard. The Austrian division was broken, dispersed, and pursued with great slaughter beyond the Alpon.

At this juncture the French General arrived post from Bologna. He had received intelligence from his Venetian agents, of the movement of the Austrian army on Padua. He had made the Italian troops encamp on the frontier of the Transpadan country, to oppose the Pope; ordered the 2,000 French from Bologna to march on Ferrara, where they had passed the Po at Ponte-di-Lagoscuro, and joined the army on the Adige. He passed the Po in person at Borgo-forte, repaired to the head-quarters at Roverbella, and reached Verona in the heat of the action of St Michel. He instantly ordered Massena to withdraw in the night all his troops upon Verona.

The enemy appeared to be in operation, and it was necessary to keep all the troops disposable in order to march to whatever quarter the true attack should be made on. In the course of the night news arrived from the head-quarters at Legnago, that the whole Austrian army was in movement on the Lower Adige; that the grand staff of the enemy was already there, as well as

two pontoon trains. The report of General Duphot, a confidential officer, left no doubt with respect to the numerous forces deployed before him; he reckoned them at 20,000 men, and supposed them to form the enemy's first line. The opinion that the enemy were operating on the Lower Adige, was confirmed by the intelligence of what had passed at Corona. Joubert sent word that during the whole of the 12th he had been attacked by the enemy, whom he had withstood; and that the Austrian division had been repulsed in all its attacks.

VI. *General Alvinzi occupies Corona, and throws a bridge over the Adige.*—The French General ordered Massena's division to repass the Adige, and to join on the right bank. He thus awaited all day on the 13th, the events which might have occurred on the same day at Legnago, on the Adige, and at Corona. The troops received notice to prepare for a nocturnal march, and to be under arms at ten o'clock at night. The division which was at Dezenzano, marched on the 11th to Castel-Nuovo, where it awaited fresh orders.

The rain fell in torrents. The troops were under arms, but the General-in-chief did not as yet know in what direction he should order them to proceed. At ten o'clock the reports from Montebaldo and the Lower Adige arrived. Joubert wrote that on the 13th, at nine in the morning, the enemy had deployed numerous forces;

that he had fought all day; that his position was very confined; that he had been fortunate enough to maintain himself there; but that at two o'clock in the afternoon, having perceived that he was outflanked on the left, by the march of an Austrian division which proceeded along the Lake of Garda, and seemed to threaten to place itself between Peschiera and him; and on his right by another division of the enemy which had proceeded along the left bank of the Adige, thrown a bridge over, a league above Rivoli, crossed that river, and was filing along the right bank, passing along the foot of Montebaldo, to carry the level of Rivoli; he had considered it indispensably necessary to send a brigade to secure the level of Rivoli, the key of the whole position, and that about four o'clock he had himself deemed it requisite to abandon Corona, in order to arrive by daylight at the level of Rivoli, which he should be compelled to evacuate the following morning before nine o'clock. On the Lower Adige the enemy had lined the left bank. We were on the right bank. The enemy's plan was therefore discovered. It was evident that he was operating with two grand armies on Montebaldo and the Lower Adige. Augereau's division appeared sufficient to dispute and defend the passage of that river. At Montebaldo there was not a moment to be lost, because the enemy was about to join his cavalry and artillery, by taking

possession of the level of Rivoli; and if he could be attacked before he should gain that important point, he would be obliged to fight without artillery or cavalry. Nor was it doubtful that the principal attack of the enemy was by Montebaldo. All the troops were therefore dispatched to the level of Rivoli, whither the General-in-chief also repaired in person at two o'clock in the morning.

VII. *Battle of Rivoli.*—The weather had cleared up, and it was a beautiful moonlight. Napoleon ascended several heights, and observed the different lines of the enemy's fires. They filled the country between the Adige and the Lake of Garda; the atmosphere was reddened by them. Five corps were easily distinguished, which seemed formed on five divisions, *which had commenced their movement the day before.* Judging by the fires of the bivouacs, it seemed that there were about 40 or 50,000 men. The French would be at Rivoli by six in the morning, to the number of 22,000 men: *this was, indeed, a very great disproportion, but we had the advantage of possessing sixty pieces of cannon and several thousand cavalry.* It was evident from the position of the bivouacs of the enemy that they intended to attack us towards nine or ten in the morning. The column of the right, which was the most distant, was intended to surround *the level* of Rivoli in the rear; *it could not come up before ten o'clock;* the object of

the first division of the centre, seemed to be to attack the position of our left. The second, which was on the upper ridge of Montebaldo, near St. Marco, was intended to gain possession of the chapel of St. Marco, to descend by the level of Rivoli, and to open the way to the left column, which had passed along the foot of Montebaldo, and was in bivouac at the edge of the level, along the Adige, at the bottom of the valley. The fifth bivouac appeared to be a division of reserve; it was far in the rear.

On these data Napoleon formed his plan. He ordered Joubert, who had evacuated the chapel of St. Marco, and who now occupied the level of Rivoli only with a vanguard, to resume an offensive attitude *immediately*, to regain possession of the chapel, and at the dawn of day, to push the second division of the centre of the enemy as far as possible. A hundred Croats, being informed by a prisoner of the evacuation of St. Marco, had just taken possession of it, when Joubert returned to that chapel at four o'clock in the morning, and once more took up his position in advance.

The firing commenced with a regiment of Croats. On the approach of day, Joubert attacked the division in front of him, and drove it from height to height, in the upper ridge of Montebaldo, which commands the valley of the Adige. The first Austrian division of the centre then hastened its

march, and a little before nine o'clock *reached* the heights on the left of the level of Rivoli. It had no artillery. The 14th and the 85th who guarded this level had each a battery. The 14th, who occupied the right, repulsed the attacks of the enemy; the 85th was outfronted and broken. But the French General hastened to Massena's division, which having marched all night, was taking a little rest, *led them against the enemy,* and in less than half an hour the first Austrian division of the centre was beaten and routed. It was then half after ten o'clock. The Austrian division of the left, composed of 3000 infantry, 5 or 6000 cavalry, all the wagons, and the heavy baggage of the army, was at the bottom of the valley; and hearing the firing near the level, and perceiving that Joubert, who was a league in advance, had now no force at the chapel of St. Marco, detached some battalions of light troops to ascend and occupy it, and to take Joubert in the rear. When these battalions were half way up, the enemy ventured to debouch with twelve pieces of cannon, two or three battalions of infantry, and 1000 cavalry. This operation was difficult; it was an absolute escalade. Joubert *having perceived it,* sent three battalions, in double quick time, who reached the chapel before the enemy, and precipitated them to the bottom of the valley. A battery of fifteen pieces placed on the level of Rivoli, showered case-shot on that part of the

column of the left which had begun to debouch. Colonel Leclerc charged by platoons with 300 horse. Lasalle chief of squadron, was at the head of the first platoon, and by his intrepidity decided the success of the charge. The enemy were overthrown in the ravine; all that had debouched, were taken, infantry, cavalry, and artillery.

At eleven o'clock the column of the right of the Austrian army arrived at the position marked out for it, where it met with our division of reserve from Dezenzano. The enemy stationed one brigade for the purpose of keeping our division in check. Their other brigade, 4000 strong, took post on the eminence, on the two sides of the road, from Verona to the level of Rivoli. They had no artillery; they thought they had turned the French army, but it was too late. Scarcely had they climbed the height, when they witnessed the rout of the three Austrian divisions *of the centre and left*. From twelve to fifteen *pieces of the reserve* of artillery were turned against them. After a brisk cannonade they were attacked, surrounded, and all taken prisoners. The second brigade which was more in the rear, in position against the reserve from Dezenzano, began its retreat. It was hotly pursued, a great number of the soldiers who composed it were killed or taken. It was one o'clock in the afternoon; the enemy were retreating from all points, and closely pursued.

Joubert advanced with such rapidity, that at one moment we thought the whole of Alvinzi's army was taken. Joubert reached the steps, the enemy's only retreat; but Alvinzi, sensible of his danger, marched with his troops of reserve, checked Joubert, and even made him give some ground. The battle was won. We had taken some cannon, colours, and a great number of prisoners; two of our detachments who were coming to join the army, *fell in with the division which had cut us off from the Verona road.* A report was immediately spread in the rear, that the French army was surrounded and lost.

During this battle the General-in-chief was several times surrounded by the enemy. He had several horses killed and wounded. Chabot occupied Verona with a handful of troops; but the Caldiero division had suffered so much on the 12th at St. Michel, that it had not been able to molest him. It merely kept its position.

VIII. *Passage of the Adige by Provera.—He marches on Mantua.*—On the 14th Provera constructed a bridge at Anghiari; and on the 15th, at daybreak, he passed the Adige and commenced his march on Mantua. Augereau advanced on the enemy's bridge, made prisoners of fifteen hundred men whom Provera had left to guard it, and gained possession of the bridge during the 15th; but Provera had gained *a march* upon him. *Mantua was endangered.*

It is difficult to prevent an enemy who has several pontoon trains, from passing a river, when the object of the army which defends the passage is to cover a siege. The General must have taken his measures for *reaching an* intermediate position between the bank which he defends, and the place which he covers, before the enemy. The French General had given orders accordingly. As soon as the enemy should have passed, the division was to proceed to the Molinella, reach it before the enemy, and after covering the fortress, march against them. This principle and these instructions were forgotten, and Mantua was thereby placed in jeopardy.

At three in the afternoon, Napoleon having received intelligence that Provera was constructing a bridge at Anghiari, instantly foresaw what would happen. He left Massena, Murat, and Joubert to pursue Alvinzi on the following day, and immediately set out for the lines before Mantua, with four regiments. He reached Roverbello as Provera arrived before Saint George's. Hohenzollern, who commanded Provera's vanguard, appeared on the 16th, at daybreak. He came up to the gate of Saint George's at the head of a regiment covered with white cloaks. He knew that this gate was not fortified, but covered only with a simple field entrenchment; and was in hopes of surprising it. Miollis, who commanded there, stationed guards only on the side of the

town. He knew that he was covered by a division that was on the Adige, and that the enemy were far off. Hohenzollern's hussars resembled the 1st French hussars. But an old serjeant of the garrison of Saint George's, who was cutting wood 200 yards from the place, noticed this cavalry coming up to the town; he conceived some doubts, which he communicated to one of his comrades. They thought the white cloaks looked too new for those of Berchini's regiment. These brave men, in this uncertainty, ran into Saint George's, calling to arms, and shut the barrier. The cavalry set off at full gallop, but it was too late; they were recognized, and fired upon with grape shot. All the troops were immediately on the ramparts. At noon Provera surrounded the place. The brave Miollis, with 1500 men, defended himself all day.

IX. *Battle of La Favorite.*—In the mean time Provera communicated with Wurmser, by means of a bark, across the lake. On the 17th at dawn, Wurmser came out with the garrison, and took up a position at La Favorite. At one in the morning Napoleon placed the regiments between La Favorite and Saint George's, and prevented the garrison of Mantua from joining Provera. Serrurier attacked the garrison of Mantua, at daybreak, with the troops of the blockade. The General-in-chief attacked Provera. It was at that battle that the 67th gained the name of *ter-*

rible. Alone it rushed upon the Austrian line with the bayonet, and overthrew all that dared to oppose it. At two in the afternoon, the garrison of Mantua having been repulsed, Provera capitulated, and laid down his arms, leaving us many stand of colours, much baggage, several parks, and some pontoon trains. Six thousand prisoners, with several generals, remained in our hands. Of Provera's 22,000 men, none escaped but the remains of the division which had attacked St. Michel on the 12th, who still remained in their position at Caldiero, and 1500 men whom Provera had left on the left bank of the Adige, to guard his parks and magazines; all the rest were taken or killed. This was called the battle of La Favorite.

On the 15th, Joubert drove Alvinzi before him all day, and came up to the steps so rapidly, that 6 or 7000 men were cut off. Murat, with one column, directed his march on Corona, and entered the Tyrol. Head-quarters were removed back to Verona. Massena's division proceeded to Bassano. One of Alvinzi's divisions attempted to rally on the Brenta, but was defeated and repulsed beyond the Piave. General Augereau marched to Castel-Franco, and from thence to Trevisa. A few encounters took place with his vanguard. All the Austrian troops repassed the Piave. The passes of the Tyrol were universally blocked up with snow; this was the greatest ob-

stacle Joubert had to surmount; but the French infantry triumphed over every difficulty. Joubert entered Trent. General Victor was detached on the Avisio, and by the passes of the Brenta, and re-established his communications with Massena, whose head-quarters were at Bassano.

Many prisoners were taken in several trifling actions: numbers of Austrian sick, and abundance of magazines, were found in all directions. The army was now in the same position as after the battles of Roveredo and Bassano, and before that of Arcole; and Bessieres was sent to carry the new trophies to Paris. The actions of St. Michel, Rivoli, Anghiari, and La Favorite, cost Alvinzi more than two-thirds of his army. Out of his 80,000 men, he did not reconduct more than 25,000 into Austria.

X. *Surrender of Mantua.*—Henceforth, we were no longer apprehensive with respect to Mantua. The garrison had long been on half-allowance; all the horses had been eaten. Wurmser was informed of the results of the battle of Rivoli; there were now no hopes for him. He was summoned to surrender: he answered, proudly, that he had provisions for a-year. Nevertheless, a few days after, Klenau, his first aide-de-camp, repaired to Serrurier's head-quarters. He protested that the garrison still had provisions for three months; but that as the Marshal did not believe that Austria could relieve the place in

time, his conduct would be regulated by the conditions proposed to him. Serrurier answered, that he would go and take the commands of the General-in-chief on this subject.

Napoleon repaired to Roverbello: Serrurier caused Klenau to be called in. The French general remained unknown, wrapped in his mantle. The conversation began between Serrurier and Klenau. The latter made use of the common arguments, and enlarged on the extensive means which Wurmser still commanded, and the great quantity of provisions *which he had in his magazines of reserve.* The French General went to the table, and spent about half an hour, during which the discussion with Serrurier continued, in writing his decisions in the margin of Wurmser's proposals. *When he had done writing*, he said to Klenau,—" If Wurmser had but provisions for eighteen or twenty days, he would not deserve an *honourable* capitulation. Here are the terms I grant him," added he, returning the paper to Serrurier: " you will find there, in particular, that he is to be personally at liberty, because I honour his great age, and his merits, and because I do not wish him to become the victim of the machinations of his enemies at Vienna. *If he opens the gates to-morrow, he shall have the terms I have just written: if he delays a fortnight, a month, or even two, he shall still be*

allowed the same conditions. He may now, therefore, hold out to his last bit of bread. I shall set out, directly, to pass the Po, and march on Rome. You know my intentions, go and communicate them to your General."

Klenau, who at first comprehended nothing of this address, soon guessed *with whom he had to do.* He examined the decisions, the perusal of which filled him with gratitude and admiration at conduct so generous and unhoped for. Dissimulation was no longer necessary, and he confessed that he had not provisions for more than three days. Wurmser sent an invitation *to the French General,* as he was to corss the Po, to pass it at Mantua, which would have saved him much distance and difficulty. But all arrangements for the journey were already made. Wurmser wrote to him to express his gratitude, and a few days afterwards sent an aide-de-camp to him at Bologna, to inform him of a plot to poison him, which was to be executed in Romania, and gave him the necessary information to preserve himself; this communication was useful. General Serrurier, therefore, presided over all the details of the surrender of Mantua, and saw the old Marshal and all the staff of his army file off before him. Napoleon was by that time in Romania. The indifference with which he declined the flattering spectacle of a Marshal of great reputa-

tion, Generalissimo of the Austrian forces, at the head of his staff, delivering up his sword, *excited great* astonishment throughout Europe.

Note by the Editor, written under dictation.—1st, Alvinzi, whatever may be said in the different reports, had 80,000 men, including Provera's troops. The forces of the Tyrol amounted to above 50,000 men. Provera had 25,000, of whom 7000 fought at St. Michel, and 18,000, forming two divisions, marched on Mantua. Of these 18,000 men, 3000 remained in his rear, 10,000 advanced to St. George's, and 5000 remained behind on the Molinella, to repel the movement of Augereau, who was following: these were all taken. If only 7000 prisoners were found in Provera's column, it was because he had engaged twice, at Anghiari and Saint George's, besides fighting the battle of La Favorite, in which affairs he lost many men; and because many of the Austrian soldiers, who went into the hospitals, are not included in the number of the prisoners. The reports notice only 23,000 prisoners; but the truth is, the French took more than 30,000; generally speaking the army did not take good care of its prisoners, but let a great number escape. The cabinet of Vienna had organized establishments in Switzerland, and on the roads, to facilitate their desertion. It may be estimated that a fourth of the prisoners escaped on their way to the central head-quarters; and another fourth on

their way to France, where not more than half the prisoners taken arrived. Many were also crowded together in the hospitals.

2dly, If, according to the official report, Bessieres only presented seventy-one stand of colours to the Directory, it was because thirteen remained behind, owing to some of the mistakes which are usual in the movements of a grand staff. They will be found amongst those which Augereau subsequently presented, after the taking of Mantua.

3dly, Of the sixty stand of colours which Augereau presented to the Directory, thirteen were remains of the trophies of Rivoli and La Favorite, which Bessieres ought to have presented. The other forty-seven were found in Mantua; and prove how numerous were the regimental establishments of Wurmser's army shut up in that place.

Augereau was chosen to carry these colours, in recompense for the services he had rendered the army, particularly at the battle of Castiglione. It would, nevertheless, have been more natural to have sent them by Massena, who had very superior claims. But the General-in-chief had much more dependence on the latter, with a view to the campaign in Germany, and did not choose to part with him. Some people thought that Napoleon, perceiving that there were persons who endeavoured to raise the reputation of General Augereau to an extravagant pitch, was glad to send

him to Paris, in order to give every one an opportunity of forming a just estimate of the character and talents of this officer, who could not fail to suffer by the examination. Others, on the contrary, were of opinion that the object of the General-in-chief was to fix the attention of Paris on one of his lieutenants: Augereau was a Parisian.

Third day of the Emperor's seclusion.— Recapitulation of his history.

May 1st.—The Emperor kept his room to-day as he had done yesterday. I felt ill from the fatigue of my ride from the Briars; I had a slight degree of fever, accompanied by great lassitude. The Emperor sent for me about seven o'clock in the evening. I went to his chamber and found him reading Rollin, whom he accused, as usual, of being too indulgent a historian. He did not appear to have been indisposed, and even said he was very well; but this only rendered me the more uneasy at his seclusion and his calmness of manner. He put off dinner to a later hour than usual, and detained me with him. He called for a glass of Constanctia some time before dinner; this he generally does when he feels the want of excitation.

After dinner he looked over a few of the addresses, proclamations, or acts in Goldsmith's imperfect collection. The perusal of some of these documents seemed to interest him; then laying down the book, he began to walk about, and said, " after all, let them abridge, suppress, " and mutilate as much as they please, they will " find it very difficult to throw me entirely into " the shade. The historian of France cannot pass " over the Empire, and, if he have any honesty,

" he will not fail to render me my share of justice.
" His task will be easy; for the facts speak of
" themselves: they shine like the sun.

" I closed the gulf of anarchy and cleared the
" chaos. I purified the Revolution, dignified
" Nations and established Kings. I excited
" every kind of emulation, rewarded every kind
" of merit, and extended the limits of glory!
" This is at least something! And on what point
" can I be assailed on which an historian could
" not defend me? Can it be for my intentions?
" But even here I can find absolution. Can it be
" for my despotism? It may be demonstrated
" that the Dictatorship was absolutely necessary.
" Will it be said that I restrained liberty? It
" can be proved that licentiousness, anarchy,
" and the greatest irregularities, still haunted
" the threshold of freedom. Shall I be accused
" of having been too fond of war? It can be
" shown that I always received the first attack.
" Will it be said that I aimed at universal mo-
" narchy? It can be proved that this was
" merely the result of fortuitous circumstances,
" and that our enemies themselves led me step
" by step to this determination. Lastly, shall I be
" blamed for my ambition? This passion I must
" doubtless be allowed to have possessed, and
" that in no small degree; but, at the same time,
" my ambition was of the highest and noblest
" kind that ever, perhaps, existed! . . . . That

" of establishing and of consecrating the Em-
" pire of reason, and the full exercise and com-
" plete enjoyment of all the human faculties!
" And here the historian will probably feel com-
" pelled to regret that such ambition should not
" have been fulfilled and gratified!" . . . . Then after a few moments of silent reflection; " this," said the Emperor, " is my whole history in a few " words."

Fourth day of absolute seclusion.—The Moniteur favourable to the Emperor.

2d.—The Emperor still kept his room as on the preceding days. He sent for me about nine o'clock in the evening, after I had dined. He had seen no one during the day; I remained with him till eleven o'clock; he was in good spirits, and appeared to be well. I assured him that the days which we passed without seeing him seemed very tedious; and that we feared his health would suffer from close confinement, and the want of fresh air. For my own part, this seclusion caused me great uneasiness and affliction. He went to bed half an hour before he dismissed me: he said his legs refused to support him. He felt fatigued with walking, though he had only taken a few turns with me in his chamber.

He spoke a great deal of the Legion of Honour, of Goldsmith's Collection, and of the Moniteur.

Respecting the latter, he said, that it was certainly a very remarkable circumstance, and one of which few besides himself could boast, that he had made his way through the Revolution at so early an age, and with so much notoriety, without having to dread the Moniteur. "There is not a sentence in it," said he, "which "I could wish to obliterate. On the con- "trary, the Moniteur will infallibly serve me as "a justification, whenever I may have occasion "for it."

Fifth day of seclusion.

3d.—The Emperor still continued within doors, and saw no one; this was his fifth day of retirement. The different individuals of his establishment knew not how he occupied himself in his chamber. He sent for me, as it were, by stealth, and I went to him about six o'clock in the evening.

I again expressed to him the anxiety and pain we felt at seeing him thus secluded. He told me, he bore the confinement very well, but that he found the days long, and the nights still longer. He had been unoccupied during the whole day: he said, he had felt himself out of humour; and, indeed, he still continued silent and dull. He took the bath, and I attended him. He concluded the evening by conversing on subjects of great importance . . . . . .
. . . . . .

Sixth day of seclusion.

4th.—The Emperor still remained within doors. He had, however, expressed his intention to ride on horseback about four o'clock; but the rain prevented him from stirring out. He received the Grand Marshal in his chamber.

He sent for me about eight o'clock to dine with him. He said, that the Governor had called on the Grand Marshal, and had remained with him above an hour. His conversation had been frequently disagreeable, and sometimes even offensive. He had spoken on a variety of topics in a tone of ill-humour and disrespect, and in a very vague and indeterminate manner; reproaching us, particularly, as it appeared, with being very loud and unreasonable in our complaints. He maintained, that we were very well provided for, and ought to be content; that we seemed to be strangely mistaken with regard to what was due to our persons and our situations. He added, at least so he was understood, that he was desirous of being assured every day, by ocular testimony, of the existence and presence of the Emperor.

There is no doubt that this point was the real cause of his ill-humour and agitation. Several days had passed away without his having been able to receive any report from his officer or spies, as the Emperor had not gone out, and no one had been admitted to his presence.

But what measures would he adopt? This consideration occupied us all in our turns. The Emperor would never submit, even at the peril of his life, to a regular visit, which might be capriciously renewed at any hour of the day or night. Would the Governor employ force and violence to dispute with the Emperor a few hours repose, and a last asylum of a few feet in circumference? His instructions must have been drawn up in anticipation of the case that had now occurred. No outrage, no want of respect, or act of barbarity, could surprise me.

As to the Governor's remark that we entertained mistaken ideas with regard to ourselves and our situation, we are very conscious, that, instead of being at the Tuileries, we are at St. Helena, and that instead of being masters, we are captives; how then can we be mistaken?

On China and Russia.—Resemblance between the two great Revolutions in France and England.

5th.—About ten o'clock in the morning, the Emperor went out to ride for the first time. While he was mounting his horse, he was informed that the Resident of the East India Company in China had come to Longwood, and solicited the honour of being presented to him. He sent for him, and put some questions to him with great condescension. We then rode out to call on

Madame Bertrand. The Emperor remained there above an hour; he was weak and altered in his appearance; his conversation was languid. We returned to Longwood. The Emperor wished to breakfast out of doors.

He sent for our host at Briars, the worthy Mr. Balcombe, and the Resident from China, who was still at Longwood. The whole time of breakfast was occupied in questions relating to China, its population, laws, customs, and trade.

The Resident stated, that a circumstance occurred a few years back between the Russians and the Chinese, which might have been attended with important results, had not Russia been entirely absorbed by the affairs of Europe.

The Russian traveller, Krusenstern, in his voyage round the world, anchored at Canton with his two vessels. He was received provisionally, and was permitted, until the orders of the Court should arrive, to dispose of the furs with which his ships were laden, and to lay in a cargo of tea in their stead. The orders from the Chinese court were delayed for more than a month, and M. de Krusenstern had set sail two days before they arrived. They directed that the two vessels should quit the port immediately; that all trade with the Russians in that quarter was prohibited; that enough had been conceded to their Emperor by land in the North of the Empire; that it was monstrous in him to attempt to

extend his intercourse in the South by sea; and that strong displeasure would be manifested towards those who had shewn them that course. The order further decreed, that, in the event of the ships having sailed before the arrival of the answer from Pekin, the English Factory should be charged to communicate it, through Europe, to the Emperor of Russia.

Napoleon felt very much fatigued with his short ride; he had not left his chamber for seven days before; this was the first time that he had re-appeared among us. We remarked an evident change in his countenance.

He sent for me about five o'clock; the Grand Marshal was with him. The Emperor was undressed; he had tried in vain to enjoy a little rest; he thought he was feverish; the sensation proceeded from extreme lassitude. The Emperor had a fire lighted, but would not have candles in his room. We passed away the time in desultory conversation in the dark till eight o'clock, when the Emperor sent us to dinner.

In the course of the day, the conversation had turned on the similarity of the two great revolutions of England and France. "There are many "points, both of resemblance and difference, be-"tween these two great events," said the Emperor; "they afford inexhaustible subjects for "reflection." He then made some very curious and remarkable observations. I shall here note

down his remarks on this occasion, as well as at other intervals during the day.

" Both in France and England the storm ga-
" thered during the two feeble and indolent reigns
" of James I. and Louis XV., and burst over
" the heads of the unfortunate Charles I. and
" Louis XVI.

" Both these Sovereigns fell victims: both
" perished on the scaffold, and their families were
" proscribed and banished.

" Both monarchies became republics, and dur-
" ing that period, both nations plunged into every
" excess which can degrade the human heart and
" understanding. They were disgraced by scenes
" of madness, blood, and outrage. Every tie of
" humanity was broken, and every principle over-
" turned.

" Both in England and France, at this period,
" two men vigorously stemmed the torrent, and
" reigned with splendour. After these, the two
" hereditary families were restored; but both
" pursued an erroneous course. They committed
" faults; a fresh storm suddenly burst forth in
" both countries, and expelled the two restored
" dynasties, without their being able to offer the
" least resistance to the adversaries who over-
" threw them.

" In this singular parallel, Napoleon appears
" to have been in France at once the Cromwell
" and the William III. of England. But as every

" comparison with Cromwell is in some degree " odious, I must add, that if these two celebrated " men coincided in one single circumstance of " their lives; it was scarce possible for two " beings to differ more in every other point.

" Cromwell appeared on the theatre of the " world at the age of maturity. He attained " supreme rank only by dint of address, dupli- " city, and hypocrisy.

" Napoleon distinguished himself at the very " dawn of manhood, and his first steps were " attended by the purest glory.

" Cromwell attained supreme power, opposed " and hated by all parties, and by affixing an " everlasting stain on the English revolution.

" Napoleon, on the contrary, ascended the " throne by obliterating the stains of the French " revolution, and through the concurrence of all " parties, who in turns sought to gain him as " their chief.

" All the glory of Cromwell was bought by " English blood; his triumphs were all so many " causes of national mourning; but Napoleon's " victories were gained over the foreign foe, and " they filled the French nation with transport.

" Finally the death of Cromwell was a source " of joy to all England: the event was regarded " as a public deliverance. The same cannot ex- " actly be said of Napoleon's fall.

" In England the revolution was the rising of the

" whole nation against the King. The King had " violated the laws, and usurped absolute power; " and the nation wished to resume her rights.

" In France, the revolution was the rising of " one portion of the nation against another; that " of the third estate against the nobility; it was " the re-action of the Gauls against the Franks. " The King was attacked not so much in his cha- " racter of monarch as in his quality of chief of " the feudal system. He was not reproached " with having violated the laws; but the nation " wished to emancipate and reconstitute itself.

" In England, if Charles I. had yielded volun- " tarily, if he had possessed the moderate and " undecided character of Louis XVI. he would " have survived.

" In France on the contrary, if Louis XVI. had " openly resisted, if he had had the courage, " activity, and ardour of Charles I. he would " have triumphed.

" During the whole conflict Charles I. isolated " in his kingdom, was surrounded only by par- " tizans and friends, and was never connected " with any constitutional branch of his subjects.

" Louis XVI. was supported by a regular army, " by foreign aid, and two constitutional portions " of the nation: the nobility and the clergy. Be- " sides there remained to Louis XVI. a second " decisive resolution which Charles I. had it not " in his power to adopt, namely, that of ceasing

" to be a *feudal Chief*, in order to become a *na-*
" *tional Chief*. Unfortunately he could not decide
" on either the one or the other.

" Charles I. therefore perished because he re-
" sisted, and Louis XVI. because he did not
" resist. The one had a perfect conviction of the
" privileges of his prerogative; but it is doubtful
" whether the other had any such conviction,
" any more than he felt the necessity of exercising
" its privileges.

" In England, the death of Charles I. was the
" result of the artful and atrocious ambition of a
" single man.

" In France, it was the work of the blind mul-
" titude, of a disorderly popular assembly.

" In England, the representatives of the people
" evinced a slight shade of decorum, by abstain-
" ing from being the judges and actors in the
" murder which they decreed; they appointed
" a tribunal to try the King.

" In France, the representatives of the people
" presumed to be at once accusers, judges, and
" executioners.

" In England, the affair was managed by an
" invisible hand: it assumed an appearance of
" reflection and calmness. In France, it was
" managed by the multitude, whose fury was
" without bounds.

" In England, the death of the King gave birth
" to the Republic. In France, on the contrary,

" the birth of the Republic caused the death of " the King.

" In England, the political explosion was pro- " duced by the efforts of the most ardent reli- " gious fanaticism. In France, it was brought " about amidst the acclamations of cynical im- " piety. Each according to different ages and " manners.

" The English Revolution was ushered in by " the excesses of the gloomy school of Calvin. " The loose doctrines of the modern school con- " jured up the storm in France.

" In England, the Revolution was mingled with " civil war. In France, it was attended by fo- " reign war; and to the efforts and opposition of " foreigners the French may justly attribute their " excesses. The English can advance no such " excuse for theirs.

" In England, the army proved itself capable " of every act of outrage and fury; it was the " scourge of the citizens.

" In France, on the contrary, we owed every " benefit to the army. Its triumphs abroad either " diminished, or caused us to forget our horrors " at home. The army secured independence and " glory to France.

" In England, the restoration was the work of " the English people, who hailed the event with " the most lively enthusiasm. The nation escaped " slavery, and seemed to have recovered free-

" dom . . . . . It was not precisely thus in " France.

" In England, a son-in-law hurled his father- " in-law from the throne. He was supported by " all Europe; and the memory of the act is re- " vered and imperishable.

" In France, on the contrary, the chosen sove- " reign of the people, who had reigned for the " space of fifteen years with the assent of his " subjects and foreigners, re-appeared on the " theatre of the world, to seize a sceptre which " he regarded as his own. Europe rose in a mass, " and outlawed him. 1,100,000 men marched " against him; he surrendered; he was thrown " into captivity, and now efforts are made to " tarnish the lustre of his memory!"

Explanation with Dr. O'Meara.—The Consulate.—Opinion of the Emigrants respecting the Consul.—The Emperor's intentions with regard to emigrant property.—Concurrence of happy circumstances in the Emperor's career.—Opinion of the Italians respecting Napoleon.—His Coronation by the Pope.—Effect of the conferences at Tilsit.—The Spanish Bourbons.—Arrival of the famous wooden palace.

6th.—The Emperor sent for me at nine o'clock. He was vexed by the conduct of the new Governor, and particularly by the intention that seemed to be entertained of violating his last humble sanctuary. He preferred death to this

last outrage; and he was resolved to run every risk in opposing it. A catastrophe seemed inevitable. The Emperor indeed concluded that there was a determination to bring it about, and that only some plausible pretence was sought for. He was resolved not to evade it. "I am "prepared for every thing," said he, in a certain moment of confidence. "They will kill me, it is "certain. . . . ."

The Emperor sent for Dr. O'Meara, in order that he might learn his personal opinion. He desired me to express to him in English, that he had hitherto no cause of complaint against him: on the contrary, that he considered him to be an honest man, and as a proof of this he would rely implicitly on the answers he might receive to the questions he was about to put to him. It was necessary, he said, to come to an understanding. Was he to consider him as his own physician personally, or merely as a prison doctor, appointed by the English Government? Was he his confessor or his inspector? Had he made reports respecting him, or was it his intention so to do if called upon? In the one case the Emperor said he would readily continue to receive his attendance, and was grateful for the services he had already received; in the other case he thanked him and begged him to discontinue his visits.

The Doctor replied with great firmness, and

in a tone of feeling. He said that his appointment was entirely professional, and had no connection with politics; he conceived himself to be the Emperor's personal medical attendant, and was a stranger to every other consideration; that he had made no report respecting the Emperor, and that none had yet been demanded of him; that he could not imagine any instance in which he might be induced to make a report, except in case of serious illness, when it might be necessary to call in the aid of other professional men.

About three o'clock the Emperor went into the garden with the intention of mounting his horse. He had been dictating for a considerable time to General Gourgaud, and had nearly got through the events of 1815. He was very well satisfied with the result of his labour.

I recommended to him next to commence the history of the Consulate; that brilliant period in which a nation in a state of dissolution, was in a few moments magically re-composed, with respect to its laws, religion, morality, true principles and honest prejudices; and all this amidst the universal applause and admiration of astonished Europe.

I was in England at this time. I told the Emperor that the mass of the emigrants were forcibly struck by these acts. The recal of the priests and of the emigrants were received as blessings; and the great majority profited by them.

The Emperor asked me, whether we had not been shocked at the word amnesty?—"No," I replied, "we knew all the difficulties which the "First Consul had experienced in this respect. "We knew that all the advantages of the mea- "sure were due to him, that he alone was our "protector, and that every evil originated with "those with whom he had been obliged to con- "tend in our favour. Subsequently, added I, "on our return to France, we found indeed that "the Consul might have treated us better with "respect to our property, and this without much "difficulty, merely by assuming a silent and "passive attitude. This we conceived would have "sufficed in every case to have produced ami- "cable arrangements between the old proprietors "and the purchasers."

"Doubtless, I might have done so," said the Emperor, "but could I have trusted sufficiently "to the emigrants?—Answer me this question."

"Sire," I replied, "now that I have more "knowledge of public affairs, and take a more "comprehensive view of things, I can readily "conceive that policy required you to act as you "did. Recent circumstances have proved how "wise was the course you pursued. It would "have been bad policy thus to disinterest the "nation. The question of national property is "one of the first bulwarks of public spirit and of "the national party."

"You are right," observed the Emperor; "but "I might nevertheless have granted all that was "wished. For a moment I cherished the idea of "doing so, and I committed a fault in not ful- "filling this idea. I intended to form a mass or "a *syndicate* of all the unsold property of the emi- "grants, and on their return, to distribute it in "certain proportions among them. But when "I came to grant property to individuals, I soon "found that I was creating too many wealthy men, "and that they repaid my favours with insolence. "Those who by dint of petitioning and cringing "had perhaps obtained an annual income of 50 "or 100,000 crowns, no longer lifted their hats "to me; and far from evincing the least gratitude, "they had the impertinence to pretend that they "had paid in an underhand way for the favours "they enjoyed. This was the conduct of the "whole Faubourg Saint-Germain. I restored the "fortunes of these people, and they still remained "no less hostile and anti-national. Then, in "spite of the act of amnesty, I prohibited the "restitution of the unsold forests, whenever they "should exceed a certain value. This was doubt- "less an act of injustice, according to the letter "of the law; but policy imperiously called for it: "the fault was in the drawing up of the law, and "the improvidence which dictated it. This re- "action on my part, counteracted all the good "effect of the recal of the emigrants, and robbed

" me of the attachment of all the great families. " I might have guarded against this evil, or I " might have neutralized its effects by my syndi- " cate. For one great family alienated, I might " have secured the attachment of a hundred pro- " vincial nobles, and thus I should in reality have " strictly conformed with justice, which required " that the emigrants who had all run the same " risk, embarked their fortunes in common on " board the same ship, suffered the same wreck, " and incurred the same punishment, should all " receive the same indemnification. Here I com- " mitted an error, said the Emperor, which was " the more unpardonable, as I entertained an idea " of the plan which I have just mentioned. But " I stood alone, and was surrounded by opposition " and difficulty. All parties were hostile to the " emigrants: and meanwhile I was pressed by " important affairs, time was running on, and I " was compelled to direct my attention to other " matters.

" Even so late as my return from Elba," continued the Emperor, " I was on the point of exe- " cuting a project of the same sort. If I had had " time, I should have taken into consideration the " care of the poor emigrants from the provinces " who were neglected by the court. It is rather " a singular circumstance that this idea was sug- " gested to me by an old ex-minister of Louis " XVI., whose services had been but ill requited

" by the Princes, and who pointed out to me " various plans by which evils of the same kind " might have been advantageously remedied."

" Sire," observed I, " the reasonable portion " of the emigrants well knew that the few gene- " rous and liberal ideas that were cherished with " respect to them, originated only with you; " they were aware that all who surrounded you " wished for their destruction. They knew that " the very idea of nobility was hateful to them; " and they gave you credit for not being of that " opinion. Would you believe it, their self-love " occasionally found a certain degree of consola- " tion in the reflection that you were one of their " own class."

The Emperor then asked me what was the opinion of the emigrants respecting his birth, the incidents of his life, &c. I replied, that we beheld him for the first time at the head of the army of Italy; and that we were totally ignorant of all his previous history. We never could pronounce his surname *Bonaparte*. At this the Emperor laughed.

The turn of our conversation then led him to observe, that he had frequently reflected on the singular concurrence of secondary circumstances which had brought about his wonderful career.

1st, " If," said he, " my father, who died be- " fore he attained the age of forty, had survived " some time longer, he would have been ap-

"pointed deputy from the Corsican nobility to "the Constituent Assembly. He was much at- "tached to the nobility and the aristocracy; on "the other hand, he was a warm partisan of ge- "nerous and liberal ideas. He would, therefore, "either have been entirely on the right side, or "at least in the minority of the nobility. At any "rate, whatever might have been my own per- "sonal opinions, I should have followed my fa- "ther's footsteps, and thus my career would have "been entirely deranged and lost.

2dly, "If I had been older at the time of the "revolution, I should perhaps myself have been "appointed deputy. Being of an enthusiastic "disposition, I should infallibly have adopted "some opinion, and ardently followed it up. "But at all events I should have shut myself out "from the military service, and thus again my "career would have been changed.

3dly, "Had my family been better known, "more wealthy or more distinguished, my rank "of nobility, even though I had followed the "course of the revolution, would have annulled "and proscribed me. I could never have ob- "tained confidence; I could never have com- "manded an army; or if I had attained such a "command, I could not have ventured to do all "that I did. Had my family circumstances been "different from what they really were, I could "not, with all my success, have followed the bent

" of my liberal ideas with regard to the priests " and nobles, and I should never have arrived at " the head of the Government.

4thly, " The number of my sisters and bro- " thers is also a circumstance which proved of " great use to me, by multiplying my connections " and means of influence.

5thly, " My marriage with Madame de Beau- " harnois placed me on a point of contact with a " party, whose aid was necessary in my system " of amalgamations, which was one of the chief " principles of my government, and that by which " it was especially characterized. But for my " wife I should not have obtained any natural " connection with this party.

6thly, " Even my foreign origin, though in " France an endeavour was made to raise an " outcry against it, was not unattended by ad- " vantage. The Italians regarded me as their " countryman, and this circumstance greatly " facilitated my success in Italy. This success " being once obtained, inquiries were set on foot " respecting our family history, which had long " been buried in obscurity. My family was ac- " knowledged by the Italians to have acted a " distinguished part in the events of their coun- " try. It was viewed by them as an Italian fa- " mily. Thus when the question of my sister " Pauline's marriage with the Prince Borghere

" was agitated, there was but one voice in Rome " and Tuscany, among the members of that fa- " mily and their adherents: ' Well,' said they, " ' the union is among ourselves; they are our " own connections.'" Subsequently, when it was proposed that the Emperor should be crowned by the Pope at Paris, great obstacles were, as circumstances have since proved, thrown in the way of that important event. The Austrian party in the conclave, violently opposed the measure; but the Italian party decided in its favour, by adding to political considerations a little consideration of national self-love. " We " are placing," said they, " an Italian family on " the throne, to govern these barbarians: we " shall thus be revenged on the Gauls."

These remarks naturally led the Emperor to speak of the Pope, who he said was rather favourably disposed towards him. The Pope did not accuse Napoleon of having ordered his removal to France. He was very indignant at reading in certain publications, that the Emperor had treated him with disrespect. He had received at Fontainbleau every mark of consideration that he could wish. When he learned the Emperor's return from Elba to France, he said to Lucien, in a tone expressive of his confidence and impartiality, *e sbarcato, e arrivato,* (he has landed, he has arrived.) He afterwards said: " You are

" going to Paris; make my peace with him. I " am in Rome: no cause of difference shall rise " up between us."

" It is certain," said the Emperor, " that Rome " will afford a natural and favourable asylum for " my family: there they may find themselves at " home. Finally," added he, smiling, " even " my name, Napoleon, which in Italy is uncom- " mon, poetic, and sonorous, contributed its " share in the great circumstances of my life."

I mentioned to the Emperor, what I had already remarked, namely, that the great mass of the emigrants were far from being unjust to him. The sensible part of the old aristocracy disliked him, it is true, but only because he proved an obstacle to their views. They knew how to appreciate his achievements and his talents, which they admired in spite of their inclination. Even the fanatics acknowledged that he had but one fault: *Why is he not legitimate?* they were frequently heard to say. Austerlitz staggered us, though it did not subdue us; but Tilsit prostrated every thing, " Your Majesty," said I, " might your- " self have judged of this, and have enjoyed on " your return, the unanimity of homage, accla- " mation, and good wishes."

" That is to say," observed the Emperor smiling, " that if, at that time, I could or would have " indulged in repose and pleasure; if I had re- " signed myself to indolence, if every thing had

" resumed its old course, you would have adored " me? But if such had been my taste and incli- " nation, and certainly nothing was more oppo- " site to my natural disposition, circumstances " would not have permitted me to act as I " pleased."

The Emperor then adverted to the numerous difficulties by which he had been incessantly surrounded and controlled; and, alluding to the Spanish war, he said, "That unlucky war ruined " me; it divided my forces, obliged me to multi- " ply my efforts, and caused my principles to be " assailed; and yet it was impossible to leave " the Peninsula a prey to the machinations of the " English, the intrigues, the hopes, and the pre- " tentions of the Bourbons. Besides, the Spa- " nish Bourbons were not calculated to inspire " much fear. Nationally they were foreign to us, " and we to them. At the castle of Marrach, " and at Bayonne, I have known Charles IV. " and the Queen unable to distinguish between " Madame de Montmorency and Madame de " B . . . . . ; the latter name was indeed ren- " dered more familiar to them through the me- " dium of the Gazettes and public documents. " The Empress Josephine, who had the most " delicate tact on matters of this sort, never " ceased alluding to the circumstance. The Spa- " nish Royal Family implored me to adopt a " daughter, and to create her a Princess of the

"Austurias. They pointed out Mademoiselle de "Tascher, afterwards Duchess of Aremberg; but "I had personal reasons for objecting to this "choice. For a moment I decided on Mada- "moiselle de la Rochefoucault, afterwards Prin- "cess Aldobrandini; but I wanted some one "sincerely devoted to my interests, a true French- "woman, possessing talent and information, and "I could not fix on one endowed with all the "qualities I wished for."

The Emperor dined with us to-day; it was long since we had enjoyed his company. After dinner he read to us Florian's novel of Claudine, and some extracts from Paul and Virginia, a work which he says he is very fond of, on account of early recollections.

The Adamant transport has arrived. This vessel a short time ago missed the island. She formed part of a convoy, the remainder of which arrived nearly a month back. These ships brought the famous wooden palace, accounts of which have filled all the newspapers in England, and probably in Europe; and also the articles of furniture, of which the papers have also made a great parade. The wooden palace proved to be nothing more than a number of rough planks, which no one knows how to put together at St. Helena, and which it would require several years to fit up. The splendour of the other articles was of course well suited to our situation. Ostentation, pomp,

and luxury, were for Europe; truth and wretchedness for St. Helena.

The Iliad and Homer.

7th.—The Governor came to Longwood about four o'clock, and went over the establishment without asking to see any one. His ill-humour was visibly increased, his manners had become fierce and brutal.

About five o'clock the Emperor sent for me; the Grand Marshal had been with him for some time. When he went away, the Emperor began to talk with me upon literature; and we reviewed almost every epic poem, ancient and modern. When conversing on the Iliad, he took up an edition of Homer, and read aloud several cantos. The Emperor greatly admired the Iliad. "It "was," he said, "like the Books of Moses, the "token and the pledge of the age in which it "was produced. Homer, in his epic poem, has "proved himself a poet, an orator, an historian, "a legislator, a geographer, and a theologist: "He may be justly called the encyclopedist of "the period in which he flourished."

The Emperor considered Homer inimitable. Father Hardouin had ventured to question the authenticity of the Iliad, and to attribute that sacred monument of antiquity to a monk of the tenth century. This, the Emperor said, was perfect absurdity. He added, that he had never

been so struck with the beauties of the Iliad as at that very moment; and that the sensations with which it then inspired him, fully convinced him of the justice of the universal approbation bestowed on it. One thing which particularly struck him, he observed, was the combination of rudeness of manners with refinement of ideas. Heroes were described killing animals for their food, cooking their meat with their own hands, and yet delivering speeches distinguished for singular eloquence, and denoting a high degree of civilization.

The Emperor desired me to stay and dine with him. "Though," said he, "you would probably "fare better at the table of the household; you "will be starved with me." "Sire," I replied, "I know you are but ill provided; but I prefer "privation shared with you to luxury enjoyed "elsewhere."

During the day, the Emperor was ill with the headache, of which some individuals of his suite also complained. I regretted that he was unable to go out, for the weather was very fine. After dinner, the Emperor summoned the whole of his suite into his own chamber, and we remained with him until ten o'clock.

8th.—About five o'clock the Emperor took an airing in the calash. On his return he was visited by several English gentlemen, of whom, according to custom, he asked a multitude of ques-

tions. These gentlemen had arrived by the *Cornwall:* they were proceeding to China and were expected again to touch at St. Helena on their passage back to Europe.

After dinner one of the suite remarked to the Emperor that his feelings had been painfully excited in the morning when writing out a fair copy of his dictation on the battle of Waterloo, to find that the result had depended, as it were, on a hair-breadth. The Emperor made no reply, but turning to Emanuel said, in a tone expressing deep emotion: "*My Son* (which was his usual "mode of addressing him) go and get Iphigenia "in Aulis, it will be a more pleasing subject." He then read to us that beautiful drama, which he admires exceedingly.

Characteristic remarks made by the Emperor.

9.—I went to dine at Briars with my son and General Gourgaud; and we staid to a little ball. I met the Admiral there, and I never found him in a more agreeable humour. This was the first time I had seen him since the adventure of Noverraz; I was aware how much the circumstance had wounded him. He was on the point of departing for Europe, and I knew the Emperor's sentiments. I was twenty times almost tempted freely to enter upon the subject, and thus to be the means of reconciling him with Napoleon.

Truth, justice, and our own interest, demanded this; but I was deterred by considerations that were doubtless trivial. How often have I blamed myself since! . . . . But I had not received this delicate mission, and I could not venture to take it upon myself. The Admiral might have given publicity to the affair, and perhaps have represented it in a way that would have highly displeased the Emperor, and possibly have exposed him to fresh vexations. On this subject I will note down the following remarks which were made by the Emperor, and which characterize him too well to be omitted.

He was one day describing to me evils attendant on weakness and credulity in a sovereign; the intrigues which they engender in the interior of the palace; and the fickleness which they create. He demonstrated very clearly that a sovereign distinguished for these qualities must inevitably become the dupe of courtiers and the victim of calumny. "Of this I will give you a "proof," said he, "You yourself who have sacri- "ficed every thing to follow me; you who have "evinced such noble and affecting devotedness, "how do you think your conduct is viewed? . . . . "How do you imagine your character is esti- "mated? . . . You are regarded merely as one "of the old nobility, an emigrant, an agent of "the Bourbons, maintaining correspondence with "the English. It is said that you concurred in

" betraying me over to them, and that you fol-
" lowed me hither only to be a spy upon me and
" to sell me to my enemies. The aversion and
" animosity which you evince towards the Go-
" vernor, are affirmed to be only false appearances
" agreed upon between you for the purpose of dis-
" guising your treachery." When I smiled at the lively turn of his fancy, and the volubility with which he expressed himself: " You may laugh," resumed he; " but I assure you I am not invent-
" ing, I am merely echoing the reports that have
" reached my ears . . . . . And can you imagine," continued he, " that a silly, feeble, and credulous
" being, would not be influenced by such stories
" and contrivances? My dear Las Cases, if I had
" not been superior to the majority of legitimates,
" I might already have been deprived of your
" services here, and your upright heart would
" perhaps have been doomed to suffer the cruel
" stings of ingratitude." He concluded by say-
ing: " how wretched is the lot of man! He is
" the same every where: on the summit of a rock
" or within the walls of a palace! Man is always
" man! . . ."

. . .

Remarks on Hoche and various other Generals.

10th.—The weather was very bad, and the Emperor finding it impossible to go out, walked up and down in the dining-room. He afterwards

ordered a fire to be kindled in the drawing-room, and sat down to play at chess with the Grand Marshal. After dinner he read to us the history of Joseph from the Bible, and the Andromache of Racine.

The Bengal fleet arrived yesterday evening. The Countess of Loudon and Moira, the wife of the Governor-general of India, was among the passengers.

To-day, in the course of conversation, the name of Hoche having been mentioned, some one observed, that at a very early age he had inspired great hope. "And what is still better," said the Emperor, "you may add that he fulfilled that "hope." Hoche and Napoleon had seen each other, and had conversed twice or thrice together. Hoche esteemed him even to admiration. Napoleon did not hesitate to say, that he possessed over Hoche the advantages of extensive information and the principles of a good education. There was, he said, in other respects a great difference between them. "Hoche," said he, "endea-"voured to raise a party for himself, and gained "only servile adherents. For my part, I had "created for myself an immense number of par-"tisans, without in any way seeking popularity. "Hoche possessed a hostile provoking kind of "ambition; he was the sort of man who could "conceive the idea of coming from Strasburg, "with 25,000 men, to seize the reins of govern-

" ment by force. But my policy was always of " a patient kind, led on by the spirit of the age, " and the circumstances of the moment."

The Emperor added, that Hoche would ultimately either have yielded to him, or must have subdued him, and as he was fond of money and pleasure, he doubted not that he would have yielded to him. Moreau, observed he, in similar circumstances, knew not how to decide. Thus Napoleon attached but little importance to him, and regarded him as totally wanting in ability; without however extending this opinion to his military talent. " But he was a weak man," said the Emperor, " guided by those who sur- " rounded him, and slavishly subject to the con- " trol of his wife: he was a general of the old " monarchy.

" Hoche," continued the Emperor, " died sud- " denly and under singular circumstances; and " as there existed a party who seemed to think " that all crimes belonged to me of right, endea- " vours were made to circulate a report that I had " poisoned him. There was a time when no mis- " chief could happen, that was not imputed to " me; thus when in Paris, I caused Kleber to " be assassinated in Egypt; I blew out Desaix's " brains at Marengo; I strangled and cut the " throats of persons who were confined in pri- " sons; I seized the Pope by the hair of his " head; and a hundred similar absurdities were

" affirmed. However, as I paid not the least atten-
" tion to all this, the fashion passed away, and
" I do not see that my successors have been very
" eager to revive it; and yet if any of the crimes
" imputed to me had had any real existence,
" the documents, the perpetrators, the accom-
" plices, &c. might have been brought forward.

" However, such is the influence of report, that
" these stories, however absurd, were credited
" by the vulgar, and are perhaps still believed by
" a numerous portion of individuals. Happily
" the statements of the historian, who reasons,
" are divested of this pernicious effect."

Then returning to the former topic of conversation, he said, " What a number of great Generals
" arose suddenly during the revolution: Pichegru,
" Kleber, Massena, Marceau, Desaix, Hoche, &c.
" and almost all were originally private soldiers.
" But here the efforts of nature seem to have been
" exhausted; for she has produced nothing since,
" or at least nothing so great. At that period
" every thing was submitted to competition among
" 30,000,000 of men, and nature necessarily as-
" serted her rights; while, subsequently, we were
" again confined within the narrower limits of
" order and the forms of society. I was even ac-
" cused of having surrounded myself, in military
" and civil posts, with men of inferior ability, the
" better to display my own superiority. But
" now, when the competition will not certainly

" be renewed, it remains for those who are in " power to make a better selection. We shall " see what they will do.

" Another circumstance no less remarkable, was " the extreme youth of some of these Generals, " who seemed to have started ready made from " the hands of nature. Their characters were " perfectly suited to the circumstances in which " they were placed, with the exception of Hoche, " whose morals were by no means pure. The " others had no object in view save *glory* and " *patriotism*, which formed their whole circle of " rotation. They were men after the antique " model.

" Desaix was surnamed by the Arabs the *Just* " *Sultan;* at the funeral of Marceau, the Austrians " observed an armistice, on account of the re- " spect they entertained for him; and young " Duphot was the emblem of perfect virtue.

" But the same commendations cannot be be- " stowed on those who were farther advanced in " life; for they belonged in some measure to the " era that had just passed away. Massena, Au- " gereau, Brune, and many others, were merely " intrepid depredators. Massena was, moreover, " distinguished for the most sordid avarice. It " was asserted, that I played him a trick which " might have proved a hanging matter; that " being one day indignant at his depradations, " I drew on his banker for 2 or 3,000,000. Great

" embarrassment ensued; for my name was not " without its due weight. The banker wrote to " intimate that he could not pay the sum without " the authority of Massena. On the other hand, " he was urged to pay it without hesitation, as " Massena, if he were wronged, could appeal to " the courts of law for justice. Massena however " resorted to no legal steps, and consoled himself " as well as he could for the payment of the money.

" O . . . . . ., Murat, and Ney, were com- " mon place kind of Generals, having no recom- " mendation save personal courage.

" Moncey was an honest man; Macdonald was " distinguished for firm loyalty; I was deceived " with respect to the character of B . . . . . "

" S . . . . also had his faults as well as his " merits. The whole of his campaign of the " south of France was admirably conducted. It " will scarcely be credited that this man, whose " deportment and manners denoted a lofty cha- " racter, was the slave of his wife. When I " learned at Dresden our defeat at Vittoria, and " the loss of all Spain through the mismanage- " ment of poor Joseph, whose plans and measures " were not suited to the present age, and seemed " rather to belong to a Soubise than to me, I " looked about for some one capable of repairing " these disasters, and I cast my eyes on S . . . . " who was near me. He said he was ready to " undertake what I wished; but entreated that I

" would speak to his wife, by whom, he said, he " expected to be reproached. I desired him to " send her to me. She assumed an air of hos- " tility, and decidedly told me that her husband " should certainly not return to Spain; that he " had already performed important services, and " was now entitled to a little repose. ' Madam,' " said I to her, ' I did not send for you with the " ' view of enduring your scolding. I am not your " ' husband; and if I were I should not be the " ' more inclined to bear with you.' These few " words confounded her; she became as pliant " as a glove, turned quite obsequious, and was " only eager to obtain a few conditions. To " these, however, I by no means acceded, and " merely contented myself with congratulating " her on her willingness to listen to reason. In " critical circumstances, Madam, said I, it is a " wife's duty to endeavour to smooth difficulties; " go home to your husband, and do not torment " him by your opposition."

Ridiculous Invitation sent by Sir Hudson Lowe.

11th.—At four o'clock I attended the Emperor. The Grand Marshal entered the room, and gave him a note. The Emperor, after glancing it over, returned it, shrugging up his shoulders and saying: " This is too absurd! There is no answer; " give it to Las Cases."

Will it be credited? This was a note from the Governor to the Grand Marshal, inviting *General Bonaparte* to dine at Plantation House to meet Lady Loudon, the wife of Lord Moira. I blushed at the indecorum. Could any thing be more ridiculous. Sir Hudson Lowe doubtless thought the thing perfectly natural; and yet he had resided for a long time at the head-quarters of armies on the Continent; and took part in the diplomatic transactions of the time!! . .

Mr. Skelton, the Deputy-Governor of the island, who was about to depart for Europe, came accompanied by his wife, to take leave of the Emperor. They staid to dine at Longwood.

This worthy family, whom, contrary to our inclination, we had removed from Longwood, whose prospects we had overthrown by the suppression of the post of Deputy-Governor on our arrival—this excellent family, to whom we had been the occasion of real personal injury, is, however, the only one in the island from whom we have experienced invariable respect and politeness. We therefore bade them farewell with sincere wishes for their welfare. We shall always remember them with sentiments of the deepest interest.

Napoleon at the Institute.—At the Council of State.—The Civil Code.—Message to Lord St. Vincent.—On the interior of Africa.—The Marine Department.—Decrès.

The Emperor while walking in the garden and discoursing on various subjects, spoke of the Institute, the manner in which it was composed, the spirit of its members, &c. When he took his place in the Institute on his return from the army of Italy, he said he might consider himself as the tenth member in his class, which consisted of about fifty.

Lagrange, Laplace, and Monge, were at the head of this class. It was rather a remarkable circumstance and one which attracted considerable notice at the time, to see the young General of the army of Italy take his place in the Institute, and publicly discuss profound metaphysical subjects with his colleagues. He was then called the *Geometrician* of battles, and the *Mechanician* of victory.

On becoming first Consul, Napoleon caused no less sensation in the Council of State. He constantly presided at the sittings for drawing up the civil code. "Tronchet," he said, "was the soul "of this code, and he, Napoleon, was its demon- "strator." Tronchet was gifted with a singularly profound and correct understanding; but he could not descend to developments. He spoke badly and could not defend what he proposed.

"The whole Council," said the Emperor, "at "first opposed his suggestions;" but Napoleon, with his shrewdness and facility of seizing and creating luminous and new relations, arose, and without any other knowledge of the subject than the correct basis furnished by Tronchet, developed his ideas, set aside objections, and brought every one over to his opinions.

The Minutes of the Council of State have transmitted to us the extempore speeches of the First Consul on most of the articles of the civil code. At every line we are struck with the correctness of his observations, the depth of his views, and in particular the liberality of his sentiments.

Thus in spite of the opposition that was set up to it, we are indebted to him for that article of the Code, which enacts that *every individual born in France is a Frenchman.* "I should like to "know," said he, "what inconvenience can pos- "sibly arise from acknowledging every man born "in France to be a Frenchman? The extension "of the French civil laws can only be attended "by advantageous consequences; thus instead "of ordaining that individuals born in France of "a foreign father, shall obtain civil privileges "only when they declare themselves willing to "enjoy them, it may be decreed that they will "be deprived of those privileges only when they "formally renounce them.

" If individuals born in France of a foreign " father were not to be considered as enjoying " the full privileges of Frenchmen, we cannot " subject to the conscription and other public " duties, the sons of those foreigners who have " married in France through the events of the " war.

" I am of opinion that the question should be " considered only with reference to the interests " of France. Though individuals born in France " possess no property, they are at least animated " by French spirit, and they follow French customs. " They cherish that attachment which every one " naturally feels for the country that gave him " birth ; finally, they help to maintain the public " burthens."

The First Consul distinguished himself no less by his support of the article which *preserves the privileges of Frenchmen to children born of Frenchmen settled in foreign countries*, and this law he extended in spite of powerful opposition. " The " French people," said he, " who are a numerous " and industrious people, are scattered over every " part of the world ; and in course of time they " will be scattered about in still greater numbers. " But the French visit foreign countries only to " make their fortunes. The acts by which they " seem momentarily to attach themselves to fo- " reign governments, have, for their object, only " to obtain the protection necessary for their

" various speculations. If they should intend to " return to France after realizing a fortune, would " it be proper to exclude them?

" If it should happen that a country in the pos- " session of France were to be invaded by the " enemy, and afterwards ceded to him by a " treaty, would it be just to say to those of the " inhabitants who might come to settle on the " territory of the republic, that they had forfeited " their rights as Frenchmen, for not having quit- " ted their former country at the moment it was " ceded; and because they had sworn temporary " allegiance to a new Sovereign, in order to gain " time to dispose of their property and transfer " their wealth to France?"

In another debate on the decease of soldiers, some difficulties having arisen relative to those who might die in a foreign country, the First Consul exclaimed with vivacity;—" the soldier " is never abroad when he is under the national " banner. The spot where the standard of France " is unfurled becomes French ground!"

On the subject of divorce, the First Consul was for the adoption of the principle, and spoke at great length on the ground of incompatiblity, which it was attempted to repel.

" It is pretended," said he, " that divorce is " contrary to the interests of women and children, " and to the spirit of families; but nothing is " more at variance with the interests of married

" persons, when their humours are incompatible,
" than to reduce them to the alternative of either
" living together, or of separating with publicity.
" Nothing is more opposite to domestic happi-
" ness than a divided family. Separation had
" formerly, with regard to the wife, the husband,
" and the children, nearly the same effect as di-
" vorce, and yet it was not so frequent as di-
" vorce now is. It was only attended with this
" additional inconvenience, that a woman of bad
" character might continue to dishonour her hus-
" band's name because she was permitted to re-
" tain it."

When opposing the drawing up of an article to specify the causes for which divorce would be admissible, he said; " But is it not a great mis-
" fortune to be compelled to expose these causes,
" and reveal even the most minute and private
" family details?

" Besides, will these causes, even in the event
" of their real existence, be always sufficient to
" obtain divorce? That of adultery, for instance,
" can only be successfully maintained by proofs,
" which it is always very difficult, and some-
" times even impossible to produce. Yet the
" husband, who should not be able to bring for-
" ward these proofs, would be compelled to live
" with a woman he abhors and despises, and who
" introduces illegitimate children into his family.
" His only resource would be separation from

" bed and board; but this would not shield his " name from dishonour."

Resuming the support of the principle of divorce, and opposing certain restrictions, he continued; " Marriage is not always, as is supposed, " the result of affection. A young female con- " sents to marry for the sake of conforming to " the fashion, and obtaining independence and " an establishment of her own. She accepts a " husband of a disproportionate age, and whose " tastes and habits do not accord with hers. The " law then should provide for her a resource " against the moment when, the illusion having " ceased, she finds that she is united in ill-assorted " bonds, and that her expectations have been " deceived.

" Marriage takes its form from the manners, " customs, and religion, of every people. Thus " its forms are not everywhere alike. In some " countries, wives and concubines live under the " same roof; and slaves are treated like children: " the organization of families is therefore not de- " duced from the law of nature. The marriages " of the Romans were not like those of the " French.

" The precautions established by law for pre- " venting persons from contracting unthinkingly " at the age of fifteen or eighteen an engagement " which extends to the whole of their lives, are " certainly wise. But are they sufficient?

" That after ten years past in wedlock, divorce " should not be admitted but for very weighty " reasons, is also a proper regulation. Since, " however, marriages contracted in early youth " are rarely the choice of the parties themselves, " but are brought about by their families for in- " terested views, it is proper that, if the parties " themselves perceive that they are not formed " for one another, they should be enabled to dis- " solve a union on which they had no opportunity " of reflecting. The facility thus afforded them, " however, should not tend to favour either levity " or passion. It should be surrounded by every " precaution, and every form calculated to pre- " vent its abuse. The parties, for example, might " be heard by a secret family council, held under " the presidency of the magistrate. In addition " to this, it might, if thought necessary, be de- " termined that a woman should only once be " allowed to procure divorce, and that she should " not be suffered to re-marry in less than five " years after, lest the idea of a second marriage " should induce her to dissolve the first. That " after married persons have lived together for " ten years, the dissolution should be rendered " very difficult, &c.

" To grant divorce only on account of adultery " publicly proved, is to proscribe it completely; " for, on the one hand, few cases of adultery can " be proved, and, on the other, there are few men

" shameless enough to expose the infamy of their " wives. Besides, it would be scandalous, and " contrary to the honour of the nation, to reveal " the scenes that pass in some families; it might " be concluded, though erroneously, that they " afford a picture of our French manners."

The first lawyers of the council were of opinion that civil death should carry along with it the dissolution of the civil contract of marriage. The question was warmly discussed. The First Consul, with great animation, opposed it in these terms; " A woman is then to be forbidden, though fully " convinced of her husband's innocence, to follow, " in exile, the man to whom she is most tenderly " united; or, if she should yield to her conviction, " and to her duty, she is to be regarded only as a " concubine! Why deprive an unfortunate married " couple of the right of living together under the " honourable title of lawful husband and wife?

" If the law permit a woman to follow her hus- " band, without allowing her the title of wife, it " permits adultery.

" Society is sufficiently avenged by the sen- " tence of condemnation, when the criminal is " deprived of his property, and torn from his " friends and his connections. Is there any need " to extend the punishment to the wife, and vio- " lently to dissolve a union which identifies her " existence with that of her husband? Would she " not say;—you had better have taken his life,

" I should then have been permitted at least to " cherish his memory; but you ordain that he " shall live, and you will not allow me to console " him in his misery. Alas! how many men have " been led into guilt only through their attach- " ment for their wives! Those therefore who have " caused their misfortunes should at least be per- " mitted to share them. If a woman fulfil this " duty, you esteem her virtue, and yet you are " allowing her no greater indulgence than would " be extended to the infamous wretch who prosti- " tutes herself!" Volumes might be filled with quotations of this sort.

In 1815, after the restoration, as I was conversing with M. Bertrand de Molleville, formerly Minister of the Marine under Louis XVI. a man of great abilities, and who has distinguished himself in more ways than one, he said;—" Your " Bonaparte, your Napoleon, was a very extra- " ordinary man, it must be confessed. How little " did we know him on the other side of the water! " We could not but yield to the conviction of " his victories, and his invasions, it is true; but " Genseric, Attila, and Alaric, were as victorious " as he. Thus he produced on me an impression " of terror rather than of admiration. But since I " have been here, I have taken the trouble to " look over the debates on the civil code, and I " have ever since been imbued with profound vene- " ration for him. But where in the world did he

"collect all his knowledge? . . . I discover "something new every day. Ah! Sir, what a "man you had at the head of your govern- "ment. Really, he was nothing short of a "prodigy! . . . . . ."

About 5 o'clock the Emperor received Captain Bowen, of the Salcette frigate, which is to sail to-morrow. He behaved very condescendingly to him. In the course of conversation the name of Lord St. Vincent, who the Captain said was his patron, happened to be mentioned, on which the Emperor remarked; "you will see him on your "return to England, and I commission you to "present my compliments to him, as to a good "sailor, a brave and worthy veteran."

About 7 o'clock the Emperor took a bath. He sent for me, and we conversed for a long time, first on the events of the day, then on literary subjects, and lastly on geography. He expressed his astonishment that we possessed no certain knowledge of the interior of Africa. I told him that I had entertained the idea, some years ago, of presenting to his Minister of Marine, a plan of a journey into the interior of Africa; not a secret and adventurous excursion, but a regular military expedition, in every respect worthy of the age and of the Emperor. The Minister laughed in my face when I first conversed with him on the subject, and looked upon the idea as an absurdity.

My plan was to have entered Africa at once on

the north, south, east, and west, and to have formed a junction in the centre; or if starting only from the east and west, I proposed that the two divisions of the expedition should meet in the centre, separate again and proceed, one to the north, the other to the south. I thought it probable that, after obtaining from the Court of Portugal all the information that could be procured; it would be found that there already existed a communication from east to west, or that at all events very little was wanting to effect it. The state of public feeling at the time, our enthusiasm, our enterprizes, our prodigies, would have rendered it easy to procure 5 or 600 good soldiers, with the requisite number of surgeons, physicians, botanists, chymists, astronomers, and naturalists, all willing to embark in the enterprize, and we should undoubtedly have accomplished something worthy of the age.

The necessary supply of beasts of burthen, small leathern boats for crossing rivers, skins for conveying water through the deserts, and light manageable field-pieces, would have rendered the execution of the enterprize easy and complete.

"There is no doubt," said the Emperor, "but "your idea would have pleased me. I should "have taken it up, submitted it to the consider- "ation of a committee, and brought it to a "result."

He said he very much regretted his not having

had time during his stay in Egypt, to accomplish something of this sort. He possessed troops calculated in every respect to brave the dangers of the desert. He had received presents from the Queen of Darfour, and had sent her some in return. Had he remained longer, he intended to have carried to a great extent our geographical investigations in the northern district of Africa, and that too by the simplest means, merely by placing in each caravan some intelligent officers, for whom he would have procured hostages.

The conversation then turned on the marine department, under the Imperial regime. The Emperor entered very deeply into the subject. He could not say that he was satisfied with Decrés; and he even thought that the confidence he reposed in him, was not altogether irreproachable. The difficulty of finding persons better qualified maintained him in his post; for, after all, the Emperor said Decrés was the best he could find. Ganteaume was merely a sailor, and was destitute of every other talent. Cafarelli, he said, had forfeited his good opinion, because he had been informed that his wife intrigued in political affairs, which he regarded as an unpardonable offence. Missiessi was not a man to be depended on; for his family had been one of those who surrendered up Toulon. The Emperor had, for a moment, cast his eye on Emériau; but on consideration he did not think he possessed

adequate capabilities. He had asked himself whether T . . . . . might not have filled the post; but he decided that he was not qualified for it. He was a good man of business, it is true; but he had plunged very deeply into the affairs of the revolution; and what had confirmed the Emperor in his disapproval of him was, that he had subsequently seen some of his private letters, by which it was evident that he still adhered to his old jacobinical sentiments.

"I had," observed the Emperor, "rendered "the duties of all my ministerial posts so "easy, that almost any one was capable of dis- "charging them, if he possessed only fidelity, "zeal, and activity. I must however except "the office of minister of foreign affairs, in "which it was frequently necessary to exercise "a ready talent for persuasion. In fact," continued he, "in the marine department but little "was required, and Decrès was perhaps, after "all, the best man I could have found. He pos- "sessed authority; and he discharged the busi- "ness of his office scrupulously and honestly. "He was endowed with a good share of under- "standing, but this was evinced only in his con- "versation and private conduct. He never con- "ceived any plan of his own, and was incapable "of executing the ideas of others on a grand "scale; he could walk, but he could never be "made to run, He ought to have passed one-

" half of his time in the sea-ports, or on board " the exercising squadrons. He would have lost " none of my favour by so doing. But as a " courtier he was afraid to quit his portfolio. " This shews how little he knew me. He would " not have been the less protected by removing " from my Court: his absence would have been " a powerful circumstance in his favour."

The Emperor said he very much regretted Latouche-Tréville, whom he regarded as a man of real talent. He was of opinion, that that Admiral would have given a different impulse to affairs. The attack on India, and the invasion of England, would by him have been at least attempted, and perhaps accomplished.

The Emperor blamed himself for having em ployed the pinnaces at Boulogne. He said it would have been better had he employed actual ships at Cherbourg. He was of opinion, that had Villeneuve manifested more vigour at Cape Finistère, the attack might have been rendered practicable. " I had made arrangements for the " arrival of Villeneuve, with considerable art and " calculation, and in defiance of the opinions " and the routine of the naval officers by whom " I was surrounded. Every thing happened as " I had foreseen; when the inactivity of Ville- " neuve ruined all. But," added the Emperor, " Heaven knows what instructions he might have " received from Decrès, or what letters might

" have been privately written to him which never " came to my knowledge; for though I was very " powerful, and was fond of searching into every " thing, yet I am convinced that I was far from " knowing all that was passing around me.

" The Grand Marshal said the other day, that " it used to be remarked in the saloon of the " household, that I was never accessible to any " one after I had an audience with the Minister " of the Marine. The reason was, because he " never had any but bad news to communicate " to me. For my part I gave up every thing " after the disaster of Trafalgar; I could not be " every where, and I had enough to occupy my " attention with the armies of the continent.

" I had long meditated on a decisive expedition " to India; but my plans had been constantly " frustrated. I intended to have fitted out a force " of 16,000 troops, on board ships of the line; " each 74 to have taken 500 troops on board, " which would of course have required thirty- " two ships. I proposed that they should take " in a supply of water for four months; which " supply might have been renewed at the Isle of " France, or in any habitable spot of the desert " of Africa, Brazil, or the Indian Ocean. In case " of need they might have taken in water where- " ever they chose to cast anchor. On reaching " the place of their destination, the troops were " to be put ashore, and the ships were imme-

" diately to depart, making up the number of " their crews by the sacrifice of seven or eight of " the vessels which might be condemned as unser- " viceable; so that an English squadron arriving " from Europe immediately after would have " found no trace of ours.

" As for the army, when abandoned to itself " and placed under the command of a clever and " confidential chief, it would have renewed the " prodigies that were familiar to us, and Europe " would have beheld the conquest of India as she " had already seen the conquest of Egypt."

I knew Decrès well; we had both commenced our career together in the marine. I think he entertained for me all the friendship of which he was susceptible, and I, on my part, was tenderly attached to him. It was an unfortunate passion, as I used to say when I was rallied on the subject, which was frequently the case; for Decrès was very much disliked, and I have often thought that, from some motive or other, he took pleasure in his own unpopularity. At St. Helena, as elsewhere, I found myself almost his only defender. I saw a great deal of him while the Emperor was at the Island of Elba, and he was occasionally favourable to Napoleon. We conversed candidly on the subject, and I have every reason to believe that he observed full and entire confidence with respect to me.

" No sooner had your Majesty returned to the

" Tuileries," said I to the Emperor, " than Decrès " and I ran to embrace each other, exclaiming, " ' He has returned! we have him again!' His " eyes were suffused with tears; I must bear this " testimony to his feelings. ' Well,' said he to " me, in the presence of his wife, ' I am now con- " vinced that I have often done you wrong, and " I owe you reparation; but your old habits and " connexions so naturally brought you in contact " with those who are now about to quit us, that " I doubted not but you would sooner or later " be perfectly reconciled with them, though you " were perhaps often offended at the expression " of my real sentiments.'"—" And did you believe " this, you simpleton?" exclaimed the Emperor, bursting into a fit of laughter. " This was an ex- " cellent piece of courtier-like art; a touch for " La Bruyère. It was really a good idea on the " part of Decrès; for if, during my absence, any " thing offensive to me had chanced to escape " him, he would you see, by this means, have " atoned for it once for all."—" Well, Sire," con- tinued I, " what I have just told you is per- " haps only amusing; but what I will now com- " municate is of a more important nature:— " During the crisis of 1814, before the taking " of Paris, Decrès was sounded in a very artful " way as to his inclination to conspire against " your Majesty, and he honestly repelled the sug- " gestion. Decrès was easily and often roused to

" discontent; and he possessed a certain air of " authority in his language and manners, which " rendered him a useful acquisition to any party " he might espouse. He happened, at the un- " happy period I have just mentioned, to visit " a person of celebrity; the hero of the machina- " tions of the day. The latter advanced to Decrès, " and drawing him aside to the fire-place, took " up a book, saying;—' I have just now been " reading something that struck me forcibly,— " you shall hear it. Montesquieu, in such and " such a chapter and page, says;—When the " Prince rises above the laws, when tyranny " becomes insupportable, the oppressed have " no alternative but . . . . .'—' Enough,' ex- " claimed Decrès, putting his hand before the " mouth of the reader; ' I will hear no more; " close the book.' And the other coolly laid " down the volume, as though nothing particular " had occurred, and began to talk on a totally " different subject."

On another occasion, a certain Marshal, after his fatal defection, alarmed at the ill impression which his conduct was calculated to produce on the public mind, and vainly seeking the approbation and support of those who surrounded him, endeavoured to interest Decrès in his favour. " I " have always borne in mind," said he to Decrès, " one of our conversations in which you so ener- " getically painted the evils and perplexities that

" weighed upon the country. The force of your " arguments greatly influenced me in the step " which I took with the view of alleviating our " misfortunes."—" Yes, my dear fellow," replied Decrès; " but did it not also occur to you that " you evershot your mark?"

" In order that these anecdotes may be appre- " ciated as they deserve," said I to the Emperor, " I must inform your Majesty that they were " related to me by Decrès himself during your " absence, and when he certainly entertained no " idea of your return."

The Emperor maintained the conversation for nearly two hours in the bath. He did not dine till nine o'clock, and he desired me to stay with him. We discoursed about the military school at Paris. I left the school only a year before Napoleon entered it, and therefore the same officers, tutors, and comrades were common to us both. He took particular pleasure in reverting with me to this period of our youth; in reviving the recollection of our occupations, our boyish tricks, our games, &c.

In this cheerfulness of humour, he called for a glass of Champaign, which was rather an unusual thing; for such is his habitual abstinence, that a single glass of wine is sufficient to flush his face, and to render him very talkative. It is well known that he seldom sits longer than a quarter of an hour or half an hour at table; but to-day

we had sat upwards of two hours. He was very much surprised when Marchand informed him it was eleven o'clock. "How rapidly the time has "slipped away," said he, with an expression of satisfaction. "Why can I not always pass my "hours thus agreeably! My dear Las Cases," said he, as he dismissed me, "you leave me "happy!"

Dangerous illness of my Son.—Remarkable observations.—The Dictionary of Weathercocks.—Bertholet.

13th.—Dr. Warden and two other medical gentlemen, came to hold a consultation on my son, whose indisposition alarmed me.

The Emperor, at my request, consented to receive Dr. Warden, our old acquaintance of the Northumberland. He conversed for upwards of two hours, familiarly taking a review of those acts of his government which had drawn upon him the greatest share of enmity, falsehood, and calumny. As the Doctor afterwards observed to me, nothing could be more correct, clear, curious and satisfactory, thau these details.

The Emperor concluded with the following remarkable observations: "I concern myself but "little about the libels that have been written "against me. My acts, and the events of my "reign, refute them more completely than the "most skilful arguments that could be employed.

" I seated myself on an empty throne. I arrived " at supreme power, unsullied by the crimes " that have usually disgraced the chiefs of dy- " nasties. Let history be consulted, let me be " compared with others! If I have to fear the " reproaches of posterity and history, it is not " for having been too wicked, but perhaps for " having been too good."

After dinner the Emperor looked at the *Dictionnaire des Girouettes*, (Dictionary of Weathercocks) which is humourously conceived though not so well executed. It is an alphabetic collection of the living characters who have figured on the scene of public events since the Revolution, and whose language opinions and conduct have followed the variation of the wind. Weathercocks are affixed to their names, with an abstract of the speeches or a description of the acts which have procured for them the distinction. On opening the work, the Emperor inquired whether any of us were mentioned in it. " No Sire," some one present jokingly replied, " none save " your Majesty." The name of Napoleon was indeed recorded in the work, because, as it was affirmed, he had first sanctioned the republic and then assumed the prerogative of royalty.

The Emperor read to us several articles from the dictionary. The contrast exhibited at different times in the language and conduct of certain individuals, was truly curious; and the

transition was in some instances performed with so much coolness and effrontery that the Emperor several times suspended his reading and burst into a hearty fit of laughter. However, after going through a few pages, he closed the book with an expression of disgust and regret, observing, that after all, the publication was a disgrace to society, a code of turpitude, and a record of our dishonour. One article seemed to affect him deeply, namely, that on Bertholet, whom he had so loaded with favour, and on whom, he said, he had every reason to rely.

The following charming trait in the Emperor's character may be mentioned here, though it is pretty generally known. Bertholet had sustained losses which involved him in difficulties, when the circumstance having come to the Emperor's knowledge, he sent him 100,000 crowns, adding, that he had reason to complain of him, since he seemed to have forgotten that he, Napoleon, was always ready to serve his friends. Bertholet, however, behaved very ungratefully to the Emperor, at the period of his disasters. His conduct deeply affected Napoleon at the time, and he was often heard to exclaim:—"What Ber-" tholet . . . . on whom I thought I could rely " with such confidence! . . . ."

On the Emperor's return from Elba, Bertholet seemed again inclined to manifest his former sentiments of attachment to his benefactor. He ven-

tured to show himself at the Tuileries, and desired Monge to inform the Emperor, that if he did not obtain a sight of him, he would put a period to his existence the moment he left the palace. The Emperor could not refuse his request, and saluted him with a smile as he passed by.

During his reign the Emperor had conferred repeated favours on several great manufacturers, among others on Oberkamp, Richard Lenoir, &c. He wished to look for their names in the Dictionary, but every voice was raised to bear witness to their good conduct.

Reception of the passengers of the Bengal Fleet.

14th.—About four o'clock a great number of visitors came to Longwood. They were passengers who had arrived by the East India fleet, and the Emperor had signified his willingness to receive them. The party consisted of Mr. Strange, the brother-in-law of Lord Melville, First Lord of the English Admiralty; a Mr. Arburthnot; and Sir William Burroughs, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Calcutta; two of Lord Moira's Aides-de-camp's; and some others, together with several ladies. We were all conversing together in the anti-chamber, when the Emperor left his own room to proceed to the garden. This circumstance excited the curiosity

of our visitors, who eagerly flew to the windows to see him pass by:—the scene reminded us of Plymouth. The Grand Marshal conducted our visitors to the presence of the Emperor, who received them with the most perfect grace, and with that captivating smile which has exercised such irresistible power. Curiosity and lively emotion were painted in the countenances of all.

The Emperor conversed with each individual, and according to custom, instantly seized any circumstance that happened to be connected with their names, as he heard them announced. He discoursed with the Supreme Judge on legislation and the administration of justice; with the Company's Officers, on trade and the internal government of India. He questioned the military gentlemen as to how many years they had served, and how many wounds they had received; he paid many flattering compliments to the ladies, and remarked, that the climate of Bengal had not spoiled the delicacy of their complexions, &c. Then addressing himself to one of Lord Moira's aides-de-camp, he observed, that the Grand Marshal had informed him that Lady Loudon was on the Island, and that had she been within his limits, he should have had great pleasure in paying his compliments to her; but that as she happened to reside beyond the boundaries that had been prescribed to him, he had no more oppor-

tunity of seeing her, than if she were still at Bengal.

During these conversations, in which I acted as interpreter, Mr. Strange, with whom I had previously been talking, drew me aside by the flap of my coat, and in a tone of surprise and satisfaction said:—"What grace and dignity of man-"ner the Emperor displays—he shows he has "been accustomed to the etiquette of holding "a levee!"

We conducted the company to the drawing-room, and curiosity led them to take a peep at the Emperor's apartments. Sir William Burroughs, who from the post he holds, may be supposed to have some connection with the English ministry, on entering the drawing-room, asked me whether it was our dining-room. I informed him that it was the drawing-room, or that we might more properly say, it was the only room in the house; at this he was much astonished. I then pointed out to him through the window, the two little chambers which are all the Emperor has for his own use. His countenance expressed regret, and he seemed, in his own mind, to be drawing comparisons between the present and the past. Remarking the wretchedness of the furniture and the narrow limits of our abode, he said with an air of concern—"You will be better "provided for soon."—"How," said I, "is there

" any intention of removing us from the Island ?"—
" No, but some elegant furniture and a commo-
" dious house are to be sent to you."—" We do
" not," I replied, " complain of the furniture, or
" the house ; but of the rock to which we have
" been banished and the latitude in which it is
" situated. This latitude cannot be changed and
" we can never be well here."

I repeated to him literally what the Emperor had, a few days previously said to the Governor on the same subject. Sir William was amazed, and pressing my hand, he said with a degree of warmth :—" My dear Sir, he is too great and
" too gifted a man ; we have too much cause to
" dread and fear him."—" But," said I, in my turn, " why not have driven the car of glory to-
" gether, instead of mutually destroying each
" other by dragging it different ways ? What
" might not then have been its course ?" He looked at me, and again pressing my hand, he said with a pensive air :—" Yes, that would
" doubtless have been better ; but . . . . . ."

All were particularly struck with the Emperor's freedom of manners, and his tranquil expression of countenance. I know not what they had expected to see. One remarked that he could scarcely form a conception of the strength of mind necessary to enable Napoleon to endure such wonderful reverses. " That is," replied I, " because nobody yet well knows the Emperor's

" character. He told us the other day, that he " had been like a block of marble during all the " great events of his life; that they had slipped " over him without producing any impression " either on his moral or physical faculties."

After dinner, the Emperor asked us, as he often does, what we should like to read. Some one proposed that we should resume the Dictionary of Weathercocks; but this the Emperor objected to, on the ground that it served but to render his evenings the more unpleasant. " Rather let us " amuse ourselves with fiction," said he; and asking for Jerusalem Delivered, he read aloud several cantos of that poem, occasionally translating passages into French. He then read the chief part both of Phedre and Athalie, always expressing his great admiration of the writings of Racine.

Equality of punishments.— The Emperor requires me to give him a detailed history of my Atlas.

15th.—The Emperor during his walk conversed on various subjects, and at length happened to light on that of crimes and punishments. He observed that the greatest jurists, even those who had been influenced by the spirit of the age, were divided as to the principle of the equalization of capital punishments. At the establishment of the Code, he should have been averse to equalization, had not circumstances

obliged him to adopt a contrary course. He asked my opinion: "I am," said I, "decidedly "favourable to the inequality of punishments. "Our notions demand a gradation in punishments, "analogous to that which we conceive in crimes. "The harmony of our sensations seems to require "this. I can never bring myself to rank on a "level with each other, the wretch who has mur- "dered his father, and him who has merely com- "mitted a slight robbery accompanied by vio- "lence. Should these two criminals be visited "by the same punishment?

"In this question the criminal himself is least "of all to be considered. The punishment is his "business; and humanity discovers many hidden "modes of relieving his physical suffering. His "ideas previously to the commission of the crime, "the feelings which his punishment creates in the "minds of the spectators, and the effect it pro- "duces on society in general;—these are the "points which must claim the attention of the "legislator in deciding the question of the equali- "zation of punishments. It is erroneous to sup- "pose that death alone is sufficient, and that the "kind of death has no influence on the mind of "the criminal in the premeditation of his crime; "for if there be inequality of punishment, there "is no culprit who would not make his choice "if he were permitted so to do. Let any member "of society consult his own feelings: he would

" shudder at the very idea of certain punish-
" ments, while perhaps he would be totally in-
" different to certain modes of death. The in-
" equality of punishments, and the solemnity of
" executions, belong therefore, to the justice and
" policy of civilization. Yet I conceive that it
" would now be impossible to subdue public
" opinion on this point." *

The Emperor entirely concurred in these ideas. Having mentioned the crime of regicide, he observed that it might truly be said to be the greatest of all crimes, owing to the consequences which it produced. " The man," said he, " who " might have raised his arm to murder me in " France, would have subverted all Europe; and " how many times have I not been exposed to " assassination!"

Lady Loudon, wife of Lord Moira, the Governor-General of India, has been for several days at St. Helena, where she attracts general attention. She is a lady of high rank, corresponding nearly with a French Duchess under the old regime. The English officers treat her

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* I must however, confess that my opinion is likely to be erroneous, if, as I have been informed, the statements of the registers in France, since the introduction of the equalization of punishments, when compared with those drawn up during a similar interval under the old penal laws, present a diminution in the number of criminals.

with the utmost respect. To-day the Admiral invited her to a little *fête* on board the Northumberland. He sent a messenger on horseback to request me to lend him my *Atlas* for the evening, in order that he might shew it to Lady Loudon, whose husband was described in it as the first representative of the Plantagenets, and consequently as the *legitimate* heir to the throne of England.

The Admiral and I were on a footing of perfect indifference; indeed we had been nearly strangers to each other since the moment he put me ashore. The request was not so much a mark of politeness to me, as a compliment to the work itself. The *Atlas* had been the subject of conversation, the lady had expressed a wish to see it, and the Admiral felt a desire to shew it her. However, I was unable to satisfy this desire. The book was in the Emperor's chamber, and such was the answer I returned.

The Emperor smiled at the honour which the Admiral had intended for me; and I could not help pitying the amusement that had been prepared for the lady. This circumstance led the Emperor himself to speak of the *Atlas*, and to repeat some observations which had fallen from him before. He remarked that he heard my work spoken of at all times and in all places; that he found it sought after by foreigners as well as Frenchmen. He had heard it mentioned on board the Bel-

lerophon and the Northumberland, at the Island of St. Helena, and, in short, every where, persons of information and rank either knew the work, or expressed a wish to become acquainted with it. "This," said he, in a lively strain, "is what I call *enjoying a real triumph, a great "reputation in the literary world.* I wish you "would give me the history of this Atlas. Tell "me when and how you conceived the idea of it, "the manner in which it was executed, and its "results: why you first of all published it under "a fictitious name, and why you did not after-"wards affix your real name to it: in short, give "me a true and particular account; you under-"stand, Mr. Counsellor of State?"

I replied that it would be a long story; though to me the recital would not be devoid of pleasure; for, I added, that my Atlas was the history of a great portion of my life, and that, above all, I was indebted to it for the happiness of being now near the person of the Emperor.

The following is the narrative, such as it appeared when corrected after my first hasty notes. Its length, doubtless, requires indulgence; but this I trust the reader will be inclined to grant, on consideration that the details which I here enter into revive the recollection of my happiest years, of the period of my youth, my health and strength, in a word, of the dear but brief interval of the plenitude of life. I once

more entreat that the reader will pardon the prolixity in which I have indulged; but this statement so forcibly revives my recollections of past happiness, that even now, on reading it over, I cannot find it in my heart to cancel any part of it.

HISTORY OF MY ATLAS.

" This Work was partly the fruit of chance; " but above all, of necessity, which, as the com- " mon proverb says, is the mother of industry. . . . " At the time of the first reverses of the French " emigrants, I was cast by the political hurri- " cane in the streets of London, without friends, " without money, and without resources; but " possessing the requisite courage and willing- " ness for exertion. To a man animated by such " a spirit, London, at that time, afforded certain " sources of emolument.

" After having unsuccessfully made several " applications, I determined to rely on myself " alone, and, like Figaro, I decided on turning " author. For a moment, I had thoughts of be- " coming a romance writer: this idea was sug- " gested to me by the proposals of a bookseller; " but he required too much, and was inclined to " pay too little. I then turned my thoughts to " writing history, which, at all events, was calcu- " lated to procure for me a certain moral advan-

" tage, by storing my mind with positive know-
" ledge. It was then I conceived the first idea
" of my Atlas, which I may truly regard as an
" inspiration from Heaven, for to it I owed my
" life. The work was at first a simple sketch,
" a mere nomenclature, very different from the
" form in which it now appears. However, it
" sufficed immediately to relieve me from embar-
" rassment, and to secure to me what might be
" called a little fortune, in comparison with the
" miseries endured by the other emigrants. Then,
" Sire, came the Peace of Amiens, and the bene-
" fits conferred on us by your amnesty. I was
" enabled to make a journey to France, merely as
" a traveller, having no other object in view, than
" to breathe my native air and to see the French
" capital. There I found myself at liberty to ex-
" press my sentiments without restraint; inves-
" tigation was easy; my ideas and my judgment
" were enlarged; I was master of my time, and
" I undertook to arrange my Atlas in the form
" in which it now appears. I proposed publish-
" ing regularly four sheets per quarter. I was
" now vastly improved both in my mind and cir-
" cumstances. Interest, attention, good offers,
" money and connexions, poured in upon me;
" and I may confidently affirm, that this was the
" happiest period of my life.

" In England, I had published my Work under
" a feigned name, in order to avoid compromis-

" ing the honour of my own. I happened to fix " upon *Le-Sage*, just as I might have decided on " Leblanc, Legris, or Lenoir. But I could not " have made a more unlucky choice, or, at least, " I could not have assumed a more general ap- " pellation. Some time after, a letter, which was " intended for me, passed through all the different " colonies of French emigrants in London, and " was delivered by turns to twenty-two priests, " who all bore the name of Le-Sage. At length " one, who had apparently discovered that the " name did not belong to me, sent me the letter " in a violent rage, observing that when people " thought proper to change their names, they " should at least avoid taking those that belonged " to other individuals.

" In France I still preserved the name of Le " Sage, which had now become identified with my " Atlas. To have published it under a new name " might have led to the supposition that it was a " new work. Besides I did not wish to expose " my own name to the chance of ill succes, to " the attacks of the Journals or the bickerings " of criticism. Even though I had been ensured " of the complete success of the work, I should " not probably have felt the more inclined to " affix my real name to it, owing to a remnant of " my old prejudices of which I could not easily " divest myself.

" Certainly this literary fame flattered me not

" a little; but I had sprung from a warlike race,
" and I conceived that I was in duty bound to
" pursue fame of another kind. However, cir-
" cumstances rendered this impossible, and I
" think it proper to mention that at least I was
" not unconscious of the duty. I never had
" cause to repent of my double appellation. In-
" dependently of my real motive for assuming
" it, it diffused around me an air of adventure
" and romance which was by no means disagree-
" able, and which was moreover in unison with
" my temper and character. It occasioned many
" mistakes and humorous scenes which afforded
" me considerable amusement. In England, for
" example, I have often when in company, been
" questioned in the most innocent way imaginable
" respecting the merits of M. Le Sage's work;
" and at a boarding-school I was once addressed
" in very discourteous language, because I obsti-
" nately persisted in condemning my own Atlas.

" So long as I continued myself to manage the
" publication of the work, my method was to
" treat in person with every individual who offered
" to set their names down as subscribers. I had
" now no favours to solicit; I rather found it ne-
" cessary in some instances to guard against re-
" ceiving those that were offered. In France
" particularly I was overwhelmed with acts of
" kindness and flattering compliments. Some
" paid me these attentions because they knew

" me and others precisely because they did not " know me; but I was in every instance greatly " indebted for them to my determination of pre- " serving perfect equilibrium with all parties. " For my part I enjoyed the curious spectacle " that now presented itself to me. As every one " who wished to become a subscriber was obliged " to give in his own name, I took a review of " many characters, whom I well knew, and ob- " served them in silence. I was thus enabled to " meditate at my ease on the curious diversity of " opinion, judgment, and taste. The point which " *one* condemned, was precisely that which *ano-* " *ther* most admired; which a *third* declared to " be indispensable, and which a *fourth* pronounced " to be inadmissible. Each according to custom " failed not to set forth his own opinion as the " prevailing one: it was the sentiment of all Paris " and of every body.

" I had now an opportunity of being convinced " of the great advantage a man derives from su- " perintending his own business himself, and of " the important influence of politeness and good " manners in all the affairs of life. I acceded " to every thing that was proposed, I received " every hint that was suggested, and I was repaid " a hundredfold for my complaisance. It fre- " quently happened that a person who had called " on me without any intention of purchasing the " work, was not only induced to carry it away

" with him, but brought me ten, twenty, or even " a hundred additional subscribers.

" One described my Atlas, as a classic work, " to the Minister of the Interior; another recom- " mended it to the Minister for Foreign Affairs; " a third promised to procure for me the decora- " tions of the Legion of Honour, and a fourth " wrote a flattering critique on the work, and " got it inserted it in the public journals. Some " carried their interest and attachment for me " even to a degree of enthusiasm. Of this the " following are instances. One of my provin- " cial subscribers, who was unacquainted with " me, wrote to request, as a particular favour, " that I would get my portrait engraved to em- " bellish the work, offering, in case I acceded to " the proposition, to defray half the expences of " the engraving. Another, who was the owner " of the Chateau de Montmorency, paid me a visit " every week under pretence of enquiring whe- " ther I had got a new sheet of my Atlas ready " for publication, but in reality, as he himself as- " sured me, to pass his happiest hours in my so- " ciety. He added, that if ever I should take a " fancy to sell my conversation as I did the sheets " of my work, it was in my power, if I chose, " to ruin him. I afterwards learned that this " was a man of a very eccentric turn; one of La " Bruyere's characters; quite after the manner " of Jean-Jacques. For a considerable time he

" seemed to rack his inventions in making me
" offers of service in the most delicate way ima-
" ginable; he even went so far as to throw out
" paternal suggestions to me. ' M. Le Sage,'
" said he, oftener than once; ' you ought to
" marry. You possess qualities that are calcu-
" lated to insure the happiness of a wife, and
" still more that of a father-in-law.' I must not
" omit to mention, that the old gentleman had
" but one daughter, and she was a rich heiress.
" However, the warmth of our intimacy gradually
" abated, till at length I entirely lost the ac-
" quaintance. It was not until a considerable
" time after, when being on a country excursion
" with a party of ladies, the sight of the Chateau
" de Montmorency revived the recollection of my
" old friend. I related the history of his eccen-
" tricities to the ladies who accompanied me;
" their curiosity was excited, and we determined
" to visit the castle. The porter refused to ad-
" mit us. On my enquiring whether the gentle-
" man was at his country residence, I received
" for answer that he was there, and that this was
" precisely the reason why we could not be ad-
" mitted. I thought it very extraordinary that
" he should thus immure himself in his castle and
" render himself totally inaccessible. With con-
" siderable difficulty I prevailed on the servant
" to announce M. Le Sage. The sound of the
" name operated like enchantment; the affront

" offered to an elegant calash and rich liveries
" was immediately repaired. The gates were
" thrown open apparently to the no small asto-
" nishment of the porter. The servants received
" orders to show us over the castle, and to offer
" us every kind of refreshment. We had brought
" with us in the carriage provisions for a little
" rural repast; but a sumptuous dinner was laid
" out for us in one of the best apartments of the
" castle; and we could not with any thing like
" good grace decline accepting what was so
" politely offered to us. All this hospitality
" was perfectly disinterested on the part of
" the worthy old gentleman, who was con-
" fined to his chamber with the gout. He was
" overjoyed at seeing me; and he seemed to
" regard my visit as the return of the prodigal
" son. He insisted on seeing the ladies who ac-
" companied me, and he was carried into the
" dining-room to do the honours of the dessert.
" One thing that amused us infinitely was, that
" he seemed to have no idea of the rank of the
" friends by whom I was accompanied; and he
" treated them like persons of inferior rank,
" though they were in reality ladies of distinction.
" The old gentleman would now scarcely allow
" me to depart; he insisted on my repeating my
" visit, and said, that I and all my friends should
" ever be received with welcome at his castle.
" But alas! I could not avail myself of his kind-

" ness; for a few days after I read in the papers
" the death of this good and sincere friend.

" From the commencement of my greatness, I
" may under every point of view, date the termi-
" nation of the golden age of my Atlas. When I
" was transplanted to Court and permitted to ap-
" proach Your Majesty's person, I conceived that
" I could not with propriety descend to the de-
" tails that had hitherto occupied me. I confided
" the management of the copyright to one of my
" old college companions, who had been an emi-
" grant like myself, but who did not turn the
" publication to so good an account as I had
" done.

" On entering upon my new post, at Court, I
" was loaded with compliments on my produc-
" tion; but to these I replied indifferently, and
" just as one would do at a ball after dropping
" one's mask. When it was found that I never
" alluded to my work, that I never quoted from
" it, and that I avoided all dissertations on it, I
" was never spoken to on the subject; and at
" length people began to wonder how I had ever
" written it, and indeed to doubt whether I had
" any right at all to be considered as its author.

" On hearing these words, the Emperor said
" to me, ' My dear Las Cases this doubt has found
" its way even to St. Helena. I have heard it
" affirmed that the work was not written by you,
" that you purchased the manuscript from the

" real author; and in support of this assertion it " has been remarked, that you know nothing at " all about the book because you never speak " of it.' To these observations, continued he, 'I " have merely contented myself with saying, Did " you never know any question to remain with- " out a complete answer? Besides I recognize " throughout the whole work the style, the very " expressions of Las Cases.'

" Many," said I, resuming my narrative, " will " think I injured myself by this denial; but I pre- " ferred good taste to quackery, and I was only " acting according to the dictates of my natural " disposition. Your Majesty was the other day " describing how Syeis used to present himself " loaded with written plans, and at the very first " word of contradiction, as soon as he found it " necessary to act on the defensive, he would ga- " ther up his papers and be off in a moment. " This was precisely my feeling. I never could " stand up publicly to support my opinions. Be- " fore I could do this I must enjoy the authority " of rank or the freedom of intimate friendship; " otherwise I prefer dooming myself to silence, " that is to say, when I am not interrogated and " urged to the point. But to return to my sub- " ject: so long as I remained in obscurity I en- " joyed the good-will of every one; but my ele- " vation rendered me an object of enmity, and I " felt the influence of that vague sentiment of

" envy and benevolence which ever follows the " footsteps of fortune. The public journals, " which for a length of time had overflowed with " flattery and agreeable expressions in favour of " the Historical Atlas, now inserted some very " ill-natured articles respecting the work, and " when these were traced to their source, the " writers frankly avowed that they had been oc- " casioned solely by changes that had taken " place in political opinions and public affairs.

" A report was delivered to the Institute of all " the works that had appeared for several years " past; and in this report the Atlas was very se- " verely treated. Happening to be one day in " company with the author of this report, to " whom I was known only by the name of Le " Sage, I expressed to him my dissatisfaction at " what he had said of the Atlas. He candidly " confessed that the work and its author were " alike unknown to him; that having found the " labour of writing the report too much for him, " he had divided the task among several other in- " viduals. He informed me that the article on " Le Sage's Atlas had been infinitely more severe " when delivered to him, than it appeared on its " insertion in the report. He had softened it " down considerably. ' I can easily perceive,' " continued he, ' that you have enemies in the " literary world, and for these you are indebted " to your habits and your situation. You have

" connected yourself with a Count somebody,
" who holds places at Court; but courtiers and
" authors never agree well together. Those Gen-
" tlemen are, for the most part, very unlike us.
" It is said, that in this curious partnership you
" supply the talent and he provides the money.
" What is the use of that? The Count is only
" making his profits on you! Your work is good,
" and your bookseller would have remunerated
" you for it. However, I am only repeating what
" I have heard, and I advise you to what I con-
" ceive to be your interest. If you wish to en-
" joy our suffrage, you must connect yourself
" with us, you must identify yourself with our
" doctrines, and leave the great folks to them-
" selves.'

" I replied, with all possible civility, that I
" was certainly indebted to him for his kind ad-
" vice, though it was not just then in my power
" to follow it. I assured him that he had formed
" an unfair opinion of my friend; that our purses
" and our very lives were common to each other;
" that our friendship and intimacy were indisso-
" luble; that we had vowed to live and die to-
" gether, and that nothing could induce us to
" break that vow. It was altogether a truly
" comic scene.

" Some time after I was dining at the table
" of a Prince: I was seated at the side of my ex-
" alted host, and was dressed in a uniform covered

" with lace. The member of the Institute was " one of the guests. Surprise and embarrass- " ment were pourtrayed in his countenance. I " spoke to him several times; but he always " drew close to his neighbours, whispering to " them, and apparently making enquiries. After " dinner he came up to me, and very good-hu- " mouredly begged me to relieve him from his " perplexity. He said he perfectly recollected " having had the honour of meeting me before, " but that he was quite at a loss to compre- " hend the trick that I had played upon him. " I disclaimed any intention of hoaxing him. " ' All that you have seen,' said I, ' and all that " I have told you, are nothing but reality and " truth. The mystery is easily solved. You " then saw M. Le Sage who supplies the talent, " and you now see M. Le Comte who provides " the funds. You now understand how histories " are written, and I have learned how reports are " made out.'

" An equally ridiculous mistake procured for " M. Le Sage in the famous *Yellow Dwarf*, the " honour of being set down as a Weathercock, " in quality of genealogist of the order under the " humourous name of *Parvulus Sapiens (Little Le " Sage.)* For this favour, as I afterwards learned, " I was indebted to the suppression that was " made during the King's reign, of the genealogy " of your Majesty, whose descent I was sup-

" posed to have traced from Æneas and Ascanius.
" It is difficult to conceive what could have been
" meant by all this, as there was nothing in the
" Atlas that could either directly or indirectly
" have suggested such an idea. However, at all
" the various times at which the Atlas and its
" author were assailed, numerous zealous and fer-
" vent partisans enquired whether I would be
" pleased to permit them to take up my defence.
" I invariably desired that the subject might be
" dropped; I conceived, that by thus occupying
" public attention, I should surely endanger my
" own tranquillity. I smiled at the ill-natured
" attacks that were made on poor M. Le Sage;
" but I should have been very sorry to have seen
" them extended to his *alias*.

" If however my Atlas enjoyed this general
" and extensive success, it certainly deserved it.
" The work is indeed adapted to every age, to
" every country, to every period; it is suited to
" all opinions, classes and plans of education. It
" is an assistant to him who wishes to learn, and
" a remembrancer to him who has learned. It is
" a guide to the scholar and an illustrator to the
" master. It embraces chronology, history, geo-
" graphy, politics, &c. To those who understand
" it and know how to use it, it may be truly said
" to compose a whole library in itself. It is the
" *Vade Mecum* of the pupil and the tutor, of the
" scholar and the man of business.

" Thus it had an immediate sale, and never I " imagine did any literary work prove so pro- " ductive to its author. On its first appearance, " the daily subscriptions frequently amounted to " 2 or 300 louis. During the period when I " personally superintended the publication, I " calculated that the receipts constituted a yearly " income of at least 60 or 80,000 francs. It pro- " cured me a fortune. I had no other, for the " Revolution had deprived me of my patrimony, " which I had afterwards no hope of recovering; " for I had been obliged to renounce it upon oath, " before I could be permitted to set foot on the " French territory.

" There have been published 8 or 10,000 copies " of my Atlas in various editions; and their sale " has thrown into circulation 8 or 900,000 per- " haps a million of francs, out of which there " has been a clear profit of 300,000 francs " now in my hands. This constitutes my whole " fortune, for I possess nothing that has not " arisen out of my Atlas, and that may not be " included in its accounts. On my departure " from Europe, there were 150,000 francs due to " me by outstanding debts either good or bad; " and I possessed a collection of books obtained " by exchange, worth 200,000 francs; which " being distributed in lots of 1000 crowns each, " and exported to foreign countries, seemed to " promise certain returns. But unfortunately of

" all this brilliant produce I can now only count " on what I have already in my hands; the rest " is involved in so many chances, that I cannot " but consider it as lost. I have no agent in " Europe to manage my affairs, for I had not " time to make any arrangements for that pur- " pose; and the details are so numerous, scat- " tered and diversified, that I could not pos- " sibly give any one a thread to follow. The " outstanding debts are growing old; some of " my debtors are deceased, and some have left the " country, and as for the books they are in a " great part scattered about, spoiled and lost.

" At one time my work was on the point of " ensuring to me the possession of a brilliant " fortune; but my prospects were defeated by " the vilest shuffling. The details of this case " are so curious, that I cannot forbear mention- " ing them to your Majesty.

" At the commencement of the year 1813, two " merchants who had discovered that I was the " author of Le Sage's Historical Atlas, called on " me, and offered if I would supply them with " two millions of copies, to pay me immediately " at the rate of 20 per cent. in ready money, " and to convey the books gratis to London, " where they should still be my property and " should remain at my disposal. I stared at " this—I could not conceive what was meant, " and suspected that the merchants were hoaxing

" me. They on the other hand sought to explain
" themselves, by saying that the offer was made
" for the sake of procuring licences, an affair
" with which they found I was totally unac-
" quainted. Afterwards on repeating this con-
" versation to a friend, I learned that the vessels
" which were licensed to sail to England, to
" bring home colonial goods, could not leave
" France without an exportation equal in nominal
" value to their intended importation. Books
" were included among the allowable objects of
" exportation, and the merchants sought to ob-
" tain a light freight and a high price, which,
" at little expence, would entitle them to a
" considerable importation. My Atlas was ad-
" mirably calculated for this kind of speculation.
" However, before I entered into any agreement,
" I consulted the Director General of Customs,
" and the President of the Committee of Ex-
" portation, by whom I was informed that the
" thing was perfectly legal. With this assurance
" I immediately set to work. I entered upon
" one of the most curious speculations that can
" possibly be conceived. Only a brief interval
" was allowed me for making the necessary pre-
" parations. Thirty forms in folio were distri-
" buted to thirty of the principal printing offices
" in Paris; and from that moment the presses
" were kept at work without intermission. All
" the wove paper of a certain size was bought

" up, and it daily increased in price until it " reached upwards of 100 per cent. Such a " general bustle prevailed among all the printers " in Paris, as to alarm the police until the affair " was fully investigated and explained. I af- " forded employment either directly or indirectly " to between 3 and 400 hundred hands. At the " expiration of one and twenty days I was to be " ready with the two million copies of the Atlas, " and was to receive 400,000 francs in ready " money. I was perhaps the only individual in " the world who could have engaged in such a " speculation; for by a singular chance I had " kept all my forms ready composed by pur- " chasing the types at a vast expence. I was " now reaping the fruits of ten years' industry " and expenditure. This was truly a prize in " the lottery. I was mad with joy at my un- " expected good fortune. But alas! I was " building on a sandy foundation, and I was " doomed to pay dearly for the few happy mo- " ments of my illusion.

" The cynical M. de P. . . . . ., the Di- " rector General of the bookselling trade, who " was my colleague in the Council of State, " seemed bent on my ruin, though I was unable to " divine the cause of his animosity. While he " was giving me every assurance of his readiness " to serve me, he was, in an underhand way ex- " erting every endeavour to injure me; and was

" exciting against me all the most active booksel-
" sellers whom he had induced to become the
" agents of his operations. Of these facts I can
" entertain no doubt; for the letters secretly
" written on this subject, by P . . . . . ,
" were confidentially communicated to me, but
" motives of delicacy forbid my taking the satis-
" faction of reproaching him with his baseness.

" He first of all intimated to me that the sheets
" of my Atlas could not be carried out of France,
" because the law permitted the exportation of
" books only. I then enquired whether books in
" sheets were suffered to be exported; and on
" receiving an answer in the affirmative, I ob-
" served that my sheets must be considered
" merely as unbound books. M. de P . . . . . .
" then declared that the favour granted by the
" Emperor could be extended only to booksel-
" lers and not to authors; but M. de Montalivet,
" the Minister of the Interior, objected to this
" partiality and silenced M. de P . . . . . .
" The latter then asserted that the price of my
" sheets had been considerably encreased; but
" it was proved by reference to two hundred ad-
" vertisements inserted in the Journals during the
" last ten years, that the price had never varied.
" He next alluded to the intrinsic value of the
" work, and affirmed that what I sold for 100 sous
" did not cost me more than five or six, and started
" many other difficulties of an equally absurd

" kind. Meanwhile time was flying; the ships " were taking in their freights, the advantages " offered by the owners were diminishing, the " arbitrary valuations of the committees arrived, " and I who had persevered in my operations in " spite of every difficulty. now found myself sur- " rounded by a thousand alarms and vexations, " and thought myself happy in escaping absolute " ruin, and being able to recover my expences, " which exceeded 80,000 francs."

" But," said the Emperor, " this seems almost " incredible; I can scarcely conceive how all " this happened. Your speculation was exactly " suited to my taste; it would have advanced " you in my good opinion; I should have been " delighted with your activity and the method of " your details. Nothing afforded me greater " pleasure than to enable those around me to make " their fortunes by honest means. Why did you " not appeal to me? Why did you not expose the " conduct of P . . . . . ? You should have " seen how I would have treated him."—" Sire,' I replied, " such an idea never entered my mind; " the moment was critical, your time was pre- " cious. How could I hope that your Majesty " would listen to me, or that I could satisfactorily " explain an affair so complicated and delicate? " How could I convince you that I was the au- " thor of a work that bore the name of another? " What would have been thought of one so near

"Your Majesty's person meddling with com-
"mercial licences and bookselling speculations?
"I felt that I was so little known to Your Ma-
"jesty, that I dreaded the thought of the affair
"reaching your ear. Thus, though I was ac-
"tively engaged in this affair, yet I exerted every
"endeavour to prevent its gaining publicity, and
"I made up my mind to suffer the worst."

"You were very wrong," said the Emperor.
"You behaved rather oddly with me and perhaps
"also with P . . . . . ; I cannot otherwise
"explain the unnatural malignity which he evinced
"towards you."

The Governor's visit—His conversation with the Emperor.

16th.—The breach between the Governor and ourselves had been decided ever since the occurrence of what I have already set down as his first ill-natured trick, his first insult, &c. Our reserve and mutual dislike encreased every day; in short, we were on very bad terms with each other.

He presented himself at Longwood about three o'clock, accompanied by his military secretary, and desired to see the Emperor, as he wished to speak with him on business. The Emperor was rather unwell, and was not yet dressed; however, he said he would see the Governor as soon as he had finished dressing. In the course of a few minutes, he entered the drawing-room, and I introduced Sir Hudson Lowe.

As I was waiting in the anti-chamber with the military secretary, I could hear, from the Emperor's tone of voice, that he was irritated, and that the conversation was maintained with great warmth. The audience was a very long, and a very clamorous one. On the Governor's departure, I went to the garden, whither the Emperor had sent for me. He had not been well for the last two days, and this affair completely upset him.

"Well, Las Cases," said he, on perceiving me, "we have had a violent scene. I have been "thrown quite out of temper! They have now "sent me worse than a gaoler! Sir Hudson Lowe "is a downright executioner! I received him to-"day with my stormy countenance, my head in-"clined, and my ears pricked up. We looked "most furiously at each other. My anger must "have been powerfully excited, for I felt a vibra-"tion in the calf of my left leg. This is always "a sure sign with me; and I have not felt it for "a long time before."

The Governor had opened the conversation with an air of embarrassment, and in broken sentences. He said, some planks of wood had arrived..... The newspapers must have made Napoleon acquainted with this circumstance..... They were intended for the construction of a residence for him..... He should be glad to know what he thought of it..... &c. To this the Emperor replied only by a very significant look. Then ad-

verting hastily to other subjects, he told the Governor with warmth, that he asked him for nothing, and that he would receive nothing at his hands; and that he merely desired to be left undisturbed. He added, that though he had much cause to complain of the Admiral, he had never had reason to think him totally destitute of feeling; that though he found fault with him, he had notwithstanding received him always in perfect confidence; but that during the month that Sir Hudson Lowe had been on the island, he had experienced more causes of irritation than during the six preceding months.

The Governor having observed, that he did not come to receive a lesson; the Emperor replied, " But that is no proof that you do not stand in need " of one. You tell me, Sir, that your instructions " are much more rigid than those that were given " to the Admiral. Do they direct that I should " suffer death by the sword or by poison? No " act of atrocity would surprise me on the part " of your ministers! If my death is determined " on, execute your orders! I know not how you " will administer the poison; but as for putting " me to death by the sword, you have already " found the means of doing that. If you should " attempt, as you have threatened, to violate the " sanctuary of my abode, I give you fair warn- " ing, that the brave 53d shall only enter, by " trampling over my corse.

" On hearing of your arrival, I congratulated " myself on the hope of meeting with a general, " who having spent some portion of his life on the " Continent, and having taken part in important " public affairs, would know how to act in a be- " coming way to me; but I was grossly deceived." The Governor here said, that, as a soldier, his conduct had been conformable with the interests and forms of his country. On which the Emperor replied, " Your country, your government, and " yourself, will be overwhelmed with disgrace " for your conduct to me; and this disgrace will " extend to your posterity. Was there ever an " act of more refined cruelty than yours, Sir, " when a few days ago you invited me to your " table under the title of *General Bonaparte*, " with the view of rendering me an object of ridi- " cule or amusement to your guests? Would you " have proportioned the extent of your respect to " the title you were pleased to give me? I am not " General Bonaparte to you. It is not for you or " any one in the world to deprive me of dignities " which are fairly my own. If Lady Loudon had " been within my boundaries, I should undoubt- " edly have visited her, because I do not stand " upon strict etiquette with a woman; but I " should nevertheless have considered that I was " conferring an honour upon her. I have been " told, that you propose that some of the of- " ficers of your staff should accompany me in

" my rides about the Island, instead of the officer " established at Longwood. Sir, when soldiers " have been christened by the fire of the battle- " field, they have all one rank in my eyes. It is not " the sight of any particular uniform that offends " me here; but the obligation of seeing soldiers " at all, since this must be regarded as a tacit " concession of the point which I dispute. I am " not a prisoner of war; and I cannot, therefore, " submit to the regulations required in such a " situation. I am placed in your power only by " the most horrible breach of confidence."

The Governor, on taking leave, requested to be allowed to present his Military Secretary to the Emperor; but the latter replied that that was very unnecessary, and that if the officer had any delicacy of feeling he could not wish it; for his own part he would rather decline it. He added, that no social relationship could exist between gaolers and prisoners; and that the presentation was therefore perfectly useless. He then dismissed the Governor.

The Grand Marshal joined us; he came from his own house, where the Governor had alighted both before and after his visit to the Emperor. He gave a detailed account of both his calls.

He said that the Governor on his return had shown great ill-humour, and had complained very much of the Emperor's temper. Not relying sufficiently on his own wit, he had recourse to that

of the Abbé de Pradt, whose work had just then passed through our hands. He had said, "that "Napoleon was not content with having created "to himself an imaginary France, an imaginary "Spain, and an imaginary Poland, but that he "now wished to create *an imaginary St. Helena*." On hearing this, the Emperor could not refrain from laughing.

We then drove out in the calash, and on our return the Emperor took a bath. He sent for me, and giving directions that he would not dine till nine o'clock, kept me with him. He talked over the affairs of the day, and dwelt on the abominable treatment he suffered, the atrocious malignity by which it was dictated, and the brutality by which it was executed. After a few moments of silence and reflection, he exclaimed, as he frequently does; "My dear Las Cases, "they will kill me here! It is certain!" What a horrible prophecy! . . . .

He dismissed me at half past ten.

17.—I was very ill the whole of the night; the Emperor breakfasted in the garden, and sent for me to attend him there. He was himself dull and melancholy, and was not at all well. After breakfast we walked for a long time in the garden; he uttered not a word. The heat obliged him to return in-doors about ten o'clock. He regretted excessively the want of shade.

About four o'clock he sent to know how I was.

He had just returned from taking a drive in the calash, in which I had not been able to join him. I walked with him and the Grand Marshal until half past five. He still had a melancholy and abstracted air. He desired Bertrand to give us an account of his residence at Constantinople in 1796, his journey to Athens, and his return across Albania. A great deal was said relative to Selim III., and his improvements, the Baron de Tott, &c. The conversation was very interesting, but unfortunately I find in my manuscript only a few imperfect notes which my memory cannot now assist me in filling up.

After dinner the Emperor, who had scarcely eaten any thing, attempted to read to us the sitting of the academy from Anacharsis. His voice and his whole frame had lost their wonted vigour and spirit. Contrary to his custom, he ended without analysis or observation. He retired to rest as soon as the chapter was concluded.

Madame Marshal Lefèvre.

18th.—The Emperor continued indisposed. On his return from a drive in the calash he took a bath, and sent for me. He evinced a gaiety of manner; and we conversed till half past eight o'clock. He ordered dinner in his own study; and he desired me to stay and dine with him. The place, the tête-a-tête, the ele-

gance of the dinner service, and the neatness with which the table was laid out, gave me, I said, an idea of comfort; the Emperor smiled at my observation. He asked me many questions relative to London, my emigration, the French Princes, and the Bishop of Arras. He himself recurred to the principal events of his Consulship, and gave me some curious details and anecdotes on these subjects. We then began to talk about the old and new courts of France, &c. Many of the observations that were made, would, if stated here, only be repetitions, for I believe I have mentioned them before. Other remarks that fell rom the Emperor, and which are merely hinted at in my manuscript, must remain for ever lost.

I will transcribe only the following particulars as new. I was entertaining the Emperor with the anecdotes and ridiculous stories, that were related gratuitously, no doubt, of Madame Lefèvre, who long enjoyed the privilege of furnishing the drawing-rooms of Paris, and even the drawing-room of the Tuileries, with a subject quizzing. "I joined in the ridicule," said I, "like every body else, until one day I renounced "it for ever, on hearing an anecdote which "proved her nobleness of sentiment and good-"ness of heart.

"Madame Lefèvre, whose husband was once "a private in the guards, and who consequently "filled a humble station in life, seemed to take

" pleasure in reviving the recollection of circum-
" stances connected with her former station, and
" even in alluding to the laborious occupations
" which she had been obliged to pursue. Dur-
" ing their poverty, she and her husband had
" been engaged in a domestic capacity in the
" family of the Marquis de Valady, the Captain
" of the corps in which Lefèvre served. The
" Marquis, who stood godfather to Lefèvre's
" child, played a conspicuous part in the deser-
" tion of the guards, nor was he less celebrated
" for his fanatical zeal in favour of republican
" liberty; but he was nevertheless a man of ge-
" nerous sentiments. He was a member of the
" Convention, and he perished because he op-
" posed the execution of Louis XVI., publicly
" declaring that he considered it as absolute mur-
" der, adding, that Louis had already been too
" unfortunate as a King to render the infliction of
" any additional punishment necessary.

" The wife of the Marquis on her return to
" France after her emigration, immediately re-
" ceived the kindest offers and attentions from
" the family of Lefèvre, who were then living in
" a style of splendour and credit.

" One day Madame Lefevre called upon her,
" and, in her usual strain of language, said,
" ' How little kindness and goodness of heart
" there is among you people of quality. We,
" who have risen from the ranks, know our duty

" better. We have just heard that M——, one " of our old officers, and your husband's com- " rade, has returned from his emigration, and " that he is dying for want! How shameful this " is! . . . . . We were fearful of offending him " by offering him assistance; but the case is " quite different with you. An act of service on " your part will be gratifying to him. Pray " give him this as coming from yourself.' With " these words, she presented to her friend a rou- " leau of 100 louis, or 1000 crowns. From that " moment, Sire," said I, " I felt no inclination to " join in the jokes against Madame Lèfevre; I " no longer entertained towards her any other " feeling than that of profound respect. I eagerly " advanced to take her hand whenever I met her " at the Tuileries, and I felt proud in escorting " her through the drawing-room, in spite of the " sneers that were buzzing around me."

We then related a number of traits of generosity exercised by the new favourites of fortune towards the old ruined families. Among others, we adverted to an instance of courtesy, perhaps somewhat far-fetched, in a certain individual, who, being originally a private soldier, attained the rank of Marshal, or General-in-chief, I forget which. One day, during his newly acquired splendour, he assembled together at a family dinner his former colonel, and four or five officers of the regiment, whom he received in his original

uniform of a private, and he addressed his guests in the same terms which he had been in the habit of employing before he attained his elevated rank.

" And this," observed the Emperor, " was the " only way to soften down the fury of the times; " for such acts as these must necessarily have " created mutual feelings of kindness between " the opposite parties, and we may naturally " suppose, that during recent events the persons " thus obliged will have returned the obligations " they received, were it only for the sake of being " *quit*."

This word *quit* reminds me of a characteristic trait of the Emperor, which must be noticed here.

A General had been guilty of irregularities in his department, which, had they been brought before the military tribunals, must have cost him his honour, and perhaps his life. Now, this General had rendered the most important services to Napoleon on the day of Brumaire. The Emperor sent for, and reproached him with his misconduct. " However," said he, " you have laid " me under obligations, which I have not forgot- " ten. I am perhaps about to transgress the laws, " and to fail in my duty. I pardon you, Sir; be- " gone! but know that from this day forward we " are *quit*. Take care of yourself for the future, " I shall look sharply after you.

The Governor of Java.—Doctor Warden.—Familiar conversation of the Emperor relative to his family.

19th.—Doctor Warden breakfasted with me to-day. The Governor of Java (Sir Stamford Raffles) and his staff, who had touched at St. Helena on their way to Europe, arrived at Longwood while we were at breakfast. Governor Raffles was well acquainted with all the Dutch gentlemen whom I had seen in 1810, during my mission to Amsterdam. The Emperor told me, that he would probably receive his visitors about three or four o'clock. In the mean time, I conversed for several hours with Doctor Warden, whom I furnished with some explanations on historical facts relating to the Emperor, about which I supposed he intended to write.*

About three o'clock the Emperor received in the garden the English gentlemen who had come from Java. He afterwards took a drive in the calash.

On his return about six o'clock, he desired me to follow him to his study. He sent for the Grand Marshal and his Lady, and conversed familiarly, until dinner time, on various subjects relating

* I was sorry to find, on perusing the Doctor's work, that he has totally neglected the observations and corrections with which I furnished him; and has strangely misrepresented the particulars which I communicated to him.

to his family and his minutest domestic affairs during the period of his power. He dwelt particularly on the Empress Josephine. "They lived "together," he said, "like a private citizen and "his wife. They were most affectionate and "united, having for a long period occupied but "one chamber and one bed. These are circum-"stances," said the Emperor, "which exercise "great influence over the happiness of a family, "securing the reputation of the wife and the con-"fidence of the husband, and preserving union "and good conduct on both sides. A married "couple," continued he, "may be said never to "lose sight of one another, when they pass the "night together; but otherwise they soon be-"come estranged. Thus, as long as this practice "was continued, none of my thoughts or actions "escaped the notice of Josephine. She observed, "seized and comprehended every thing. This "circumstance was sometimes not altogether "without its inconvenience to myself and to pub-"lic affairs; but while we were at the camp of "Boulogne, a moment of ill-humour put an end "to this state of things." Certain political events which had occurred at Vienna, together with the report of the coalition which took place in 1805, had occupied the attention of the First Consul throughout the whole of the day, and a great part of the night. He retired to bed not in very good spirits, and he found Josephine

in a violent rage at his long absence. Jealousy was the real or pretended cause of this ill-humour. Napoleon grew angry in his turn, threw off the yoke of subjection, and could never be brought to submit to it again. At the time of his second marriage, the Emperor was fearful lest Maria Louisa, might exact similar obedience, for in that case he must have yielded. It is the true right and privilege of a wife, he observed.

"A son by Josephine," continued the Emperor, "would have completed my happiness, "not only in a political point of view, but as a "source of domestic felicity.

"As a political result, it would have secured "to me the possession of the throne; the French "people would have been as much attached to "the son of Josephine as they were to the King "of Rome; and I should not have set my foot on "an abyss covered with a bed of flowers. But "how vain are all human calculations! Who can "pretend to decide on what may lead to hap-"piness or unhappiness in this life!

"Still I cannot help believing that such a "pledge of our union, would have proved a "source of domestic felicity; it would have put "an end to the jealousy of Josephine, by which "I was continually harassed, and which after all "was the offspring of policy rather than of senti-"ment. Josephine despaired of having a child, "and she in consequence looked forward with

" dread to the future. She was well aware, that " no marriage is perfect without children; and at " the period of her second nuptials, there was no " longer any probability of her becoming a mo- " ther. In proportion as her fortune advanced, " her alarm increased. She availed herself of " every resource of medicine; and sometimes " almost persuaded herself that her remedies had " proved successful. When at length she was " compelled to renounce all hope, she suggested " to her husband the expediency of resorting to a " great political deception; and she even went so " far as directly to propose the adoption of such " a measure.

" Josephine possessed in an eminent degree " the taste for luxury, gaiety, and extravagance, " natural to creoles. It was impossible to regu- " late her expenditure; she was constantly in " debt; and thus there was always a grand dis- " pute when the day of payment arrived. She " was frequently known to direct her tradesmen " to send in only half their accounts. Even at " the Island of Elba, Josephine's bills came " pouring in upon me from all parts of Italy."

Some one who knew the Empress Josephine at Martinique, communicated to the Emperor many particulars relative to her family and her youthful days. During her childhood, it was several times predicted that she would wear a crown. Another circumstance no less curious and remarkable is,

that the phial, containing the holy oil used at the coronation of the Kings of France, is said to have been broken by Josephine's first husband, General Beauharnais, who, at a moment when the tide of popular favour was running against him, hoped by this means to re-establish his credit.

A thousand stories have been told and written respecting the marriage of Napoleon and Josephine. The campaigns of Italy explain the circumstance that first brought about their acquaintance and their union. After Vendemiare, Eugène who was yet a child, presented himself to General Bonaparte, then General-in-chief of the army of the Interior, to request that his father's sword might be restored to him. Lemarrois, one of Napoleon's Aides-de-camp, introduced the boy, who, the moment he beheld his father's sword, burst into tears. The General-in-chief was moved by this incident, and loaded the child with caresses. When Eugène described the manners of the young General to his mother, she lost no time in introducing herself to him. "It is "well known," said the Emperor, "that she "put faith in presentiments and prophecies. In "her childhood some fortuneteller had predicted "that she would attain splendid rank, and would "even ascend a throne. She moreover possessed "a considerable share of art; and after we be-"came acquainted, she frequently assured me, "that her heart beat when she first heard Eugène

" describe me, and that she then caught a glimpse " of her future greatness, and the accomplishment " of the prophecies respecting her fate.

" Another peculiar shade in the character of " Josephine," said the Emperor, " was her con- " stant habit of negation. At all times, and " whatever question I put to her, her first move- " ment was negative, her first answer *No;* and " this *no,*" continued the Emperor, " was not " precisely a falsehood, but merely a precaution, " or a defence."—" This," observed Madame Bertrand, " is a characteristic distinction be- " tween our sex and yours."—" But, after all, " Madam," resumed the Emperor, " this dis- " tinction arises only from the difference of edu- " cation. You love, and you are taught to say " *no;* we, on the contrary, take a pride in de- " claring that we love, whether we really do or " not. This is the whole course of the opposite " conduct of the two sexes. We are not, and " never can be, similar.

" During the reign of terror," said the Emperor, " Josephine was thrown into prison, while her hus- " band perished on the scaffold. Her son Eugène " was bound an apprentice to a joiner, which trade " he actually learned. Hortense had no better " prospects. She was, if I mistake not, sent to " learn the business of a sempstress."

Fouché was the first who ventured to touch the fatal string of the Imperial divorce. He took upon

himself, without any instructions, to advise Josephine to dissolve her marriage for the welfare of France. Napoleon, however conceived that the proper moment had not yet arrived. The step taken by Fouché, was a source of great vexation and trouble: it very much displeased the Emperor, and if he did not dismiss Fouché, at the earnest solicitation of Josephine, it was because he had himself secretly determined on the divorce, and he did not wish by thus punishing his minister, to give any check to public opinion on the subject.

However, it is but justice to observe that as soon as the Emperor shewed himself resolved on the divorce, Josephine consented to it. It cost her, it is true, a severe sacrifice; but she submitted without murmuring, and without attempting to avail herself of those obstacles which she might, however uselessly, have opposed to the measure.* She conducted herself with the ut-

* I received from the mouth of the Prince Primate some curious details concerning Josephine's marriage and divorce. 'Madame de Beauharnais was married to General Bonaparte, by a non-juring priest; who by pure accident had neglected to procure the requisite authority from the curate of the parish. This or some other informaility in the marriage, afterwards occupied the attention of Cardinal Fesch; and whether from his own scruples or otherwise, he succeeded at the time of the coronation, in persuading the Emperor and Empress to be married over again by him, privately; or at least to go over as much of the ceremony as he thought necessary. At the divorce, the civil separation was pronounced by the Senate. With regard to the

most grace and address. She desired that the Viceroy might conduct the proceedings, and she herself made offers of service with regard to the house of Austria.

Josephine would willingly have seen Maria Louisa. She frequently spoke of her with great interest, as well as of the young King of Rome. Maria Louisa, on her part, behaved wonderfully well to Eugène and Hortense; but she manifested the utmost dislike and even jealousy of Josephine. "I wished one day to take her to Malmaison," said the Emperor; "but she burst into tears

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religious separation, the Emperor would not apply to the Pope, and there was no necessity for so doing. Cardinal Fesch having remarried the parties without witnesses, the Officiality of the Bishoprick of Paris declared that no marriage had taken place. On this judgment being delivered the Empress Josephine summoned Cardinal Fesch to Malmaison, and asked him whether he could bear witness and sign a declaration that she had been married, and lawfully married. "Doubtless," replied the Cardinal, "I "can bear testimony to the fact, and will sign the declaration." Which he accordingly did.

"But," said I to the Prince Primate, "what judgment was "pronounced by the Officiality of Paris?"—"The only proper "one," replied the Prince—"What then became of the decla- "ration of Cardinal Fesch? Was it false?"—"Not in his opi- "nion," said the Prince. "He had acted upon the Italian doc- "trine, by which Cardinals assume the right of marrying without "witnesses, which however is not recognized in France, where "a marriage is thereby rendered null."

It appears, however, that Josephine, required this declaration only for her own satisfaction, and that she never made any other use of it.

" when I made the proposal. She said she " did not object to my visiting Josephine, only " she did not wish to know it. But whenever " she suspected my intention of going to Mal- " maison, there was no stratagem which she did " not employ for the sake of annoying me. She " never left me; and as these visits seemed to " vex her exceedingly, I did violence to my own " feelings and scarcely ever went to Malmaison. " Still, however, when I did happen to go, I was " sure to encounter a flood of tears and a multi- " tude of contrivances of every kind. Josephine " always kept in view the example of the wife of " Henry IV. who, as she observed, lived in Paris, " visited the court, and attended the coronation " after her divorce. But she remarked that her " own situation was still preferable, for she " already had children of her own, and could not " hope to have more."

Josephine possessed a perfect knowledge of all the different shades of the Emperor's character, and she evinced the most exquisite tact in turning this knowledge to the best account. " For " example," said the Emperor, " she never so- " licited any favour for Eugène, or thanked me " for any that I conferred on him. She never " even showed any additional complaisance or " assiduity at the moment when the greatest ho- " nours were lavished on him. Her grand aim " was to prove that all this was my affair, and

" not hers, and that it tended to my advantage. " Doubtless she entertained the idea that one day " or other I would adopt Eugène as my suc- " cessor."

The Emperor said he was well convinced that he was the individual whom Josephine loved best in all the world; and he added with a smile that he was sure she would have relinquished any assignation to attend him. She never failed to accompany him on all his journies. Neither fatigue nor privation could deter her from following him; and she employed importunity and even artifice to gain her point. " If I stepped " into my carriage at midnight, to set out on the " longest journey, to my surprise I found Jose- " phine all ready prepared, though I had had no " idea of her accompanying me. ' But,' I would " say to her, ' You cannot possibly go, the jour- " ney is too long and will be too fatiguing for " you.'—' Not at all,' Josephine would reply. " ' Besides, I must set out instantly.'—' Well, " I am quite ready.'—' But you must take a great " deal of luggage.'—' Oh, no! every thing is " packed up;' and I was generally obliged to " yield. In a word, Josephine rendered her " husband happy, and constantly proved herself " his sincerest friend. At all times and on all " occasions she manifested the most perfect sub- " mission and devotedness; and thus I shall never

"cease to remember her with tenderness and "gratitude.

"Josephine," continued the Emperor, "ranked "the qualities of submission, obedience and "complaisance in her sex, on a level with politi- "cal address; and she often condemned the con- "duct of her daughter Hortense and her relation "Stephanie, who lived on very bad terms with "their husbands, frequently indulging in caprice, "and pretending to assert their independence.

"Louis," said the Emperor, "had been spoiled "by reading the works of Rousseau. He con- "trived to agree with his wife only for a few "months. There were faults on both sides. On "the one hand, Louis was too teasing in his tem- "per, and on the other Hortense was too volatile. "They were attached to each other at the time "of their marriage, which was agreeable to their "mutual wishes. The union was, however, con- "trived by Josephine, who had her own views "in promoting it. I, on the contrary, would ra- "ther have extended my connection with other "families, and for a moment I had an idea of "forming a union between Louis and a niece of "M. de Talleyrand, who was afterwards Ma- "dame Juste de Noailles."

The most ridiculous reports were circulated respecting an improper intercourse between Napoleon and Hortense, and it was even affirmed that

the latter had had a child by the Emperor. "Such "a connection," said he, "would have been "wholly repugnant to my ideas; and those who "knew any thing of the morality of the Tuile- "ries, must be aware that I need not have been "reduced to so unnatural and revolting a choice. "Louis knew perfectly well the value to which "these reports were entitled; but his vanity and "irratibility of temper, were nevertheless offended "by them, and he frequently alluded to them as "a ground for reproaching his wife.

"But Hortense," continued the Emperor, "the virtuous, the generous, the devoted Hor- "tense, was not entirely faultless in her conduct "towards her husband. This I must acknow- "ledge in spite of all the affection I bore her, "and the sincere attachment which I am sure "she entertained for me. Though Louis' whim- "sical humours were in all probability suffi- "ciently teasing, yet he loved Hortense; and in "such a case a woman should learn to subdue "her own temper, and endeavour to return her "husband's attachment. Had she acted in the "way most conducive to her interests, she might "have avoided her late lawsuit;' secured hap- "piness to herself, and followed her husband to "Holland. Louis would not then have fled from "Amsterdam; and I should not have been com- "pelled to unite his kingdom to mine, a measure "which contributed to ruin my credit in Europe.

" Many other events might also have taken a " different turn.

" The Princess of Baden," continued the Emperor, " pursued a wiser course. On witness- " ing Josephine's divorce, she recollected her " own situation, and used every endeavour to " gain her husband's affections. They were after- " wards a most happy couple.

" Pauline was too careless and extravagant. " She might have been immensely rich consider- " ing all that I gave her; but she gave all away " in her turn. Her mother frequently lectured " her on this subject, and told her that she would " die in some house of charity. *Madame*, how- " ever carried her parsimony to a most ridiculous " extreme. I offered to furnish her with a very " considerable monthly income, on condition that " she would spend it. She on the other hand " was very willing to receive the money, pro- " vided she were permitted to hoard it up. This " arose not so much from covetousness as excess " of foresight; all her fear was that she might " one day be reduced to beggary. She had " known the horrors of want, and they now con- " stantly haunted her imagination. It is how- " ever, but just to acknowledge, that she gave a " great deal to her children in secret. She is in- " deed a kind mother.

" Nevertheless," continued the Emperor, " this " woman who was so reluctant to part with a

" single crown, would willingly have given me " her all, on my return from the Island of Elba; " and after the battle of Waterloo she would ' have surrendered to me all she possessed in the " world, to assist me in re-establishing my affairs. " This she offered to do; and would, without a " murmur, have doomed herself to live on brown " bread.* Loftiness of sentiment still reigned " paramount in her heart: pride and noble am- " bition were not yet subdued by avarice."

Here the Emperor observed, that he had still

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* How justly did the Emperor paint his mother's character! On my return to Europe I was delighted to witness the literal confirmation of all that he had said respecting her.

As soon as I disclosed to Madame Mère the Emperor's real situation, and declared my resolution to exert all my efforts to alleviate his misery, the answer returned to me by the courier was, that her whole fortune was at her son's disposal, and that she would gain her subsistence by entering into service. She at the same time, authorised me, though I was not personally known to her, to draw immediately in her name any sum that I might think necessary for the Emperor's use. Cardinal Fesch also tendered his services in the most affectionate way; and I must take this opportunity of mentioning, that all the different members of the Emperor's family, evinced equal love, zeal, and devotedness. So long as my health permitted me to maintain correspondence with them, I received a multitude of letters, which form altogether a most interesting collection. They reflect honour on the hearts of the writers, and they would have proved a source of consolation to the Emperor, had the restrictions of the English government permitted me to submit them to his perusal.

present in his memory the lessons of pride, which he had received from his mother in his childhood, and which had influenced his conduct through life. The naturally powerful mind of Madame Mère had been exalted by the great events of which she had been a witness; she had seen five or six revolutions; and her house had been thrice burnt to the ground by factions in Corsica.

"Joseph," said the Emperor, "rendered me "no assistance; but he is a very good man. His "wife, Queen Julia, is the most amiable creature "that ever existed. Joseph and I were always "attached to each other, and kept on very good "terms. He loves me sincerely, and I doubt "not that he would do every thing in the world "to serve me. But his qualities are only suited "to private life. He is of a gentle and kind dis-"position, possesses talent and information, and "is altogether a very amiable man. In the dis-"charge of the high duties which I confided to "him, he did the best he could. His intentions "were good; and therefore the principal fault "rested not so much with him as with me, who "raised him above his proper sphere. When "placed in important circumstances, he found his "strength unequal to the task imposed on him.

"The Queen of Naples had chiefly formed her-"self amidst great events. She had solid sense, "strength of character, and boundless ambition. ". . . . She must naturally suffer severely from

" her reverses, more particularly as she may be " said to have been born a Queen. She had not, " like the rest of us," observed the Emperor, " moved in the sphere of private life. Caroline, " Pauline, and Jerome, were still in their child- " hood when I had attained supreme rank in " France; thus they never knew any other estate " than that which they enjoyed during the period " of my power.

" Jerome was an absolute prodigal. He plunged " into boundless extravagance, and the most " odious libertinism. His excuse perhaps may " be his youth, and the temptations by which he " was surrounded. On my return from the Isle " of Elba, he appeared to be much improved, " and to afford great promise. One remarkable " testimony in his favour, was the love with which " he had inspired his wife, whose conduct was " admirable, when after my fall, her father, the " despotic and harsh King of Wurtemberg, wished " to procure her divorce. The Princess then, " with her own hands, honourably inscribed her " name in history."

To our great regret dinner was announced; but the Emperor continued to be very talkative during the whole of the evening. He took a familiar retrospect of various subjects, principally alluding to the conduct of many persons of note during his absence and at the time of his return. He did not retire until midnight, and he closed

the evening's conversation with the following words:—"What is doing at this moment in "France and in Paris? and what shall we our-"selves be doing on this day twelvemonth!"

The Emperor sleeping.—Moral reflections.

20th.—Mr. Balcombe had intimated to me that he was appointed to supply us with what we wanted at the expense of the English Government; but I wrote to inform him that as my own pecuniary circumstances enabled me to dispense with this favour, I was resolved not to avail myself of it. I therefore begged that he would obtain permission from the Governor, to receive from me a bill drawn on some person in England, which could not be transmitted without special permission. I wished to remain free of all obligations, so that nothing might impede me in freely exercising the just and sad privilege of venting my reproaches and imprecations.

The Emperor rode out in the calash very early. On his return, about three o'clock he desired me to follow him to his chamber. "I am low-"spirited, unwell, and fatigued," said he, "sit "down in that arm-chair, and bear me company." He then threw himself on his couch and fell asleep, while I watched beside him. I sat within a few paces of him. His head was uncovered, and I gazed on his brow,—that brow on which were inscribed Marengo, Austerlitz, and a hun-

dred other immortal victories. What were my thoughts and sensations at that moment? They may be imagined; but I cannot attempt to describe them!

In about three quarters of an hour the Emperor awoke. He took a few turns in his chamber, and he then took a fancy to visit the apartments of all the individuals of his suite. When he had minutely considered all the inconveniencies of mine, he said with a smile of indignation:—"Well, I do not think that any christian on "earth can be worse lodged than you are."

After dinner the Emperor attempted to read a part of the *Caravansérail de Sarrazin*. After glancing over a few of the tales, and reading a page from one of them, he said:—"The moral of "this story doubtless is, that *men never change*. "This is not true; they change both to better "and worse. A thousand other maxims which "authors attempt to establish are all equally "false. They affirm that *men are ungrateful;* "but no, they are not so ungrateful as is sup-"posed; and if ingratitude be frequently a sub-"ject of complaint, it is because the benefactor "requires more than he gives.

"It is also said, that *when you know a man's "character, you have a key to his whole conduct.* "But this is a mistaken notion. A man may com-"mit a bad action though he be fundamentally "good; he may be led into an act of wicked-

" ness, without being himself wicked. This is " because man is usually actuated not by the " natural bent of his character, but by a secret " momentary passion, which has lain dormant " and concealed in the inmost recesses of his " heart. Another error is to suppose that *the* "*face is the mirror of the mind.* The truth is, " that it is very difficult to know a man's character. " To avoid being deceived on this point, it is " necessary to judge a person by his actions " only; and it must be by his actions of the " moment, and merely for that moment.

" In truth men have their virtues and their " vices; their heroism and their perversity; men " are neither generally good nor generally bad; " but they possess and practise all that is good " and bad in this world. This is the principle: " natural disposition, education and accidental " circumstances are the applications. I have " always been guided by this opinion, and I have " generally found it correct. However, I was " deceived in 1814, when I believed that France, " at the sight of her dangers, would make com- " mon cause with me; but I was not deceived " in 1815, on my return from Waterloo."

The Emperor felt unwell, and retired very early.

The Governor arrests one of our servants—The Bible.

21st.—The Emperor continued indisposed; but we nevertheless took our usual airing in the calash. On our return we were informed that the Governor had been to Longwood and had himself arrested one of our domestics, who had recently quitted the service of Deputy-Governor Skelton, and who had a few days since been engaged by General Montholon. On hearing this, the Emperor exclaimed: "What turpitude! what "meanness! A Governor . . . . . an English Lieu- "tenant General himself to arrest a servant! "Really this conduct is too disgusting!"

The Grand Marshal joined us and announced the arrival of a store ship, which had left England on the 8th of March.

After dinner the Emperor asked what we would read, and we all decided for the Bible. "This is certainly very edifying," said the Emper; "it would never be guessed in Europe." He read to us the book of Joshua, observing at almost every town or village that he named: "I encamped there; I carried that place by as- "sault; I gave battle here, &c."

Instances of the caprice of authority—Princess Stephanie of Baden, &c.

22d. In course of to-day a great deal was said about the sailors of the Northumberland, who had

been given to us as domestics, and who we now understood were to be withdrawn from our service. They had, however, been engaged by a reciprocal contract by which both parties were bound for the space of a year. But we are without the pale of ordinary law. The Governor affirmed that the Admiral wanted the men; and the Admiral said that he would allow them to remain with us if the Governor pleased. The sailors were taken away and soldiers were sent in their stead; but these were also removed and sent back again, ordered away a second time and again sent back to us. We were unable to guess the meaning of all these changes.

While I was in the Emperor's apartment waiting for the announcement of dinner, the conversation fell on Madame Campan's establishment, the young persons who had been educated in it, and the fortunes which the Emperor had conferred on some of them. He particularly alluded to Stephanie de Beauharnais, afterwards Princess of Baden, to whom he said he was much attached. He entered into many details respecting her.

Princess Stephanie of Baden lost her mother in her childhood. She was left in the care of an English lady, her mother's intimate friend, who was very rich and without children, and who confided the education of her *protegée* to some old nuns in the south of France, I believe at Montauban.

Napoleon, during his consulship, one day heard Josephine mention this circumstance, while alluding to her young relation Stephanie. "How can "you permit this?" said he. "How can you "suffer one of your name to be supported by a "foreigner, an Englishwoman, who must at this "moment be regarded as our enemy? Are you "not afraid that your memory will one day suffer "by this?" A courier was immediately despatched to bring the young lady to the Tuileries; but the nuns refused to part with her. Napoleon, however, instituted the necessary legal forms, and a second courier was speedily sent to the Prefect of the district, with orders instantly to seize the person of the young lady in the name of the law.

Owing to the circumstances of the times, such was the influence of certain systems of education, and of the opinions which they inspired, that Stephanie's removal was to herself a source of deep regret; and she beheld not without terror him who declared himself her relative, and who was about to become her benefactor. She was placed in the establishment of Madame Campan, at St. Germain; all sorts of masters were appointed to superintend her education, and on her introduction to the world, her beauty, wit, accomplishments and virtues, rendered her an object of universal admiration.

The Emperor adopted her as his daughter, and

gave her in marriage to the hereditary Prince of Baden. This union was for several years far from being happy. In course of time, however, the causes of difference gradually vanished; the Prince and Princess became attached to each other, and from that moment they had only to regret the happiness of which they had deprived themselves during the early years of their marriage.

At the conferences of Erfurt, the Princess of Baden received the most marked attentions from her brother-in-law, the Emperor Alexander. During our disasters in 1813, persons who were at the head of political affairs, dreading the result of an interview between Alexander and the Princess of Baden, at Manheim, succeeded in depriving the Princess of the regard of her august relative, by circulating false reports to the prejudice of her character. Thus, when Alexander arrived at Manheim in his triumphal march to Paris, he by no means treated Princess Stephanie with due respect. His conduct was calculated to wound her feelings; but it could not humble her pride. On this occasion, the conduct pursued by the Prince of Baden reflected true glory on his character. The most august personages surrounded him, and urged him to repudiate the wife, whom he had received from the hands of Napoleon. But the Prince, with true nobleness of sentiment, rejected the idea, observing, that he would never

commit an act of baseness, which would be as repugnant to his affections as to his honour. This generous Prince, to whom we did not render sufficient justice in Paris, afterwards fell a victim to a tedious and painful illness. The Princess personally attended on her husband throughout the whole of his sufferings, performing with her own hands all the minute services that his situation required: her devoted attachment gained for her the admiration of her relatives and subjects.

Princess Stephanie of Baden shed a lustre over her exalted station. She conferred honour on her character as a wife and a daughter. She at all times professsed the highest veneration for him, who, when in the enjoyment of boundless power, had benevolently adopted her as his child.

The Emperor's maxims with respect to Sovereignty.—The expulsion of Portalis from the Council of State.—Accidents which occurred to the Emperor at St. Cloud, Auxonne, and Marly.

23d.—The Emperor desired me to attend him in his Chamber, about two o'clock. He remarked that I did not look well. He was himself ill, and had had but little sleep during the preceding night. He began to dress, saying that he should probably feel better when he had finished his toilette. We then went out to walk in the garden. The turn of the conversation led the Emperor to remark that our manners required that a

sovereign should be regarded only as the blessing of his people; his acts of severity must be overlooked in consideration of his acts of clemency; mercy must still be held to be his chief attribute. In Paris, he observed, he had sometimes been reproached for conversations and words which, in truth, ought not to have escaped him. But he added that his personal situation, his extreme activity, and most of his acts, which really proceeded from himself, ought to have made amends for many things. He rendered justice to the delicate tact which distinguished the inhabitants of the French capital; no where, he said, could be found so much wit or more taste. He reproached himself for the expulsion of Portalis from the Council of State. I, who was present at the scene, told him that I thought his manner was somewhat paternal.* "I was perhaps too "severe," resumed he; "I should have checked "myself before I ordered him to be gone. He "attempted no justification, and therefore the "scene should have ended, merely by my saying "*it is well.* His punishment should have awaited "him at home. Anger is always unbecoming in "a sovereign. But perhaps I was excusable in "my council where I might consider myself in "the bosom of my own family; or perhaps, after "all, I may be justly condemned for this act.

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* See Vol. I. Part I. p. 282.

" Every one has his fault; nature will exert her " sway over us all."

He said he also reproached himself for his conduct to M. de G . . . . . at the Tuileries, during one of the grand Sunday audiences, and in presence of all the Court. " But in this instance," said he, " I was provoked to the utmost extreme. My " anger burst forth against my inclination. I had " given G . . . . . the command of a legion of " the capital, which I was about to defend. I " afterwards learned that he rejoiced in our dis- " asters, and invoked them, though I did not " know this at the period to which I am now al- " luding. The enemy was advancing upon us, " and G . . . . . coolly wrote to inform me that " his health would not permit him to take the " command; though, as a courtier, he presented " himself to me in perfect activity and good " spirits. I was very indignant at his conduct; " but I repressed my anger, and resolved to take " no notice of him. He, however, on three or " four occasions sought an opportunity of throw- " ing himself in my way. I could no longer " stifle my rage, and the bomb exploded. How, " Sir," . . . . . .

. . . . . .

I omit the rest of the story; it is too long.

" But, concluded the Emperor, what distressed " me most of all, was the situation of G . . . . .'s

" son, who was my chamberlain, and of whom I " had no reason to complain."

The Emperor then spoke of the Faubourg St. Germain, and questioned me respecting many families and individuals belonging to it. He happened to mention the name of Madame de S . . . . ., I observed that she had constantly evinced great attachment to the Emperor, for which she was now doubtless severely punished. The Emperor was not aware of the extent and sincerity of her zeal and devotedness; though he had been very much moved by her generous resolution of remaining with the Empress Josephine. He had, he said, to reproach himself for not having done any thing for Madame de S . . . . She must have been unfortunate in the choice of the moment at which she solicited her husband's nomination to the Senate.

I had, from my childhood, been intimately acquainted with Madame de S . . . . . ; and she made me her confidential friend. I related to the Emperor the anecdote of her nomination to the post of *dame du palais*. Her husband one morning introduced her to the Empress Josephine, who returned her thanks for having made an application to enter her service. This was a thunderbolt to Madame de S . . . . ., who had never dreamed of making such a solicitation; and who, in the natural timidity of her disposition, pre-

served silence. At that time I was certainly far from approving or advising her acceptance of the post; but I nevertheless rendered her a real act of service by withholding a letter of refusal which she had confided to me, without the knowledge of her friends, and which might have proved fatal to the intrigues of those by whom the affair had been brought about.

The Emperor asked me what could have given rise to this repugnance on the part of Madame de S . . . . . to enter the service of the Empress; I replied, that it was occasioned by the connection she had had with the royal family. "She was right," said he, "how could her husband think of placing her in a situation so hostile "to her feelings? . . . . . A similar case occurred in one of my nominations of Chamberlains. "One individual begged that I would be pleased "to allow him to decline the honour, because, as "he said, he had been first Gentleman of the "Chamber to Louis XVI. and Louis XVIII. "This was perfectly reasonable on his part; but "how could I possibly listen to such a solicitation? . . . . . It was a proof of want of delicacy in those who proposed his nomination; "but what had I to do with that? Could I enter "into details of this kind? The important affairs "that claimed my attention would not permit me "to descend to matters of this sort.

"However," continued the Emperor, "if Ma-

" dame de S . . . . . had gone the right way to " work, she might have obtained all she asked " for. But she never evinced any particular in- " terest in what she solicited, and made applica- " tions only in favour of individuals who had not " proved themselves very deserving; among others " she recommended to my notice a man, who " after being one of the King's Peers, wished to " be made one of mine. On my return from " Elba, his daughter came to assure me, that if " I would confer this favour upon him, he would " pledge himself to act with zeal in my service, " acknowledging, as he said, no interests but " those of the nation. All this was of course " fair enough."

About four o'clock the Emperor got into the calash; during our usual ride he mentioned several serious accidents by which, at one time or other, his life had been endangered.

At St. Cloud he once wished to drive his calash six-in-hand. The horses were startled by Aide-de-camp Cafarelli, inadvertently crossing the road in front of them. Before the Emperor had time to recover the reins, the horses set off at full speed, and the calash, which rolled along with extreme velocity, struck against a railing. The Emperor was thrown out to the distance of eight or ten feet, and lay stretched on the ground with his face downwards. He was, he said, dead for a few seconds. He felt the mo-

ment at which life became extinct, which he called the *negative moment*. The first individual of the suite who alighted immediately revived him by a touch. He observed, that the mere contact suddenly restored him to life, as in the night-mare, the sufferer is relieved as soon as he can utter a cry.

On another occasion, the Emperor said he had nearly been drowned. When in garrison at Auxonne in 1786, while he was one day amusing himself with swimming, a sudden numbness came over him, he lost his self-possession, and being alone, he was carried along by the current in a senseless state. He felt life escape him, and even heard his comrades on the shore call out that he was drowned, and hasten in quest of boats to drag for his body. In this case a sudden shock restored him to life. His breast struck against a sand-bank; and by a miracle, his head being above the water, he recovered himself sufficiently to swim ashore. The water dislodged itself from his stomach; he regained the spot where he had left his clothes, and having dressed himself, he got home, while his friends were still in search of his body.

Another time while hunting the wild boar at Marly, all his suite was put to flight; it was like the rout of an army. The Emperor, with Soult and Berthier maintained their ground against three enormous boars. "We killed all three;

" but I received a hurt from my adversary, and " nearly lost this finger," said the Emperor, pointing to the third finger of his left hand, which indeed bore the mark of a severe wound. " But " the most laughable circumstance of all was, to " see the multitude of men, surrounded by their " dogs, screening themselves behind the three " heroes, and calling out lustily :—*Save the Em-* " *peror! Save the Emperor!* while not one ad- " vanced to my assistance."

Political Reflections.

24th.—The Emperor went out only to take an airing in the calash. We drove for nearly an hour and a half, proceeding at a slow pace, and we lengthened our airing by going twice over the limits of our usual ride. The Emperor conversed on politics. The newspapers which we had received three days ago, furnished the subject of discussion.

In France, he observed, the patriots were emigrating rapidly; and there seemed to be a wish to encourage their emigration from the circumstance of their property not having been confiscated, &c. . . . . .

. . . . . .

The Emperor thought he could perceive from the debates in the English Parliament, that there was a reserved idea respecting the division of

France; this was a severe shock to his feelings. "Every one possessing a true French heart," said he, "must now be overwhelmed in despair. "An immense majority of the population of "France, must be plunged in the deepest sorrow. "Ah!" he exclaimed, "why am I not placed in "some remote sphere? On a soil truly free and "independent, where no external influence could "be dreaded! How would I astonish the uni-"verse! I would address a proclamation to the "French; I would say to them;—You are lost "if you are not united. The odious, the inso-"lent foreigner is about to parcel you out and to "annihilate you. Frenchmen arise! make com-"mon cause, at all hazards,— rally, if it must "be so, *even around the Bourbons* . . . . . "let the existence, the safety of France, take "place of every other consideration! . . ."

He thought, however, that Russia must oppose this division, as she would thereby have to fear the growing strength and consolidation of Germany against her. Some one present remarked, that Austria must oppose it also from the apprehension of wanting the necessary support in case of any attempts on the part of Russia. It was moreover observed, that in such a case, Austria might probably serve the cause of the King of Rome, by setting him forward. "Yes," replied the Emperor, "as an instrument of menace, "perhaps; but never as the object of her good

" wishes. Austria must have too much cause to " dread him. The King of Rome will be the " man of the people; he will be the champion of " Italy. Thus it will be the policy of Austria to " take his life. This will not probably be at- " tempted during the reign of his grandfather, " who is a good man;—but the Emperor Francis " cannot live for ever. If however the manners " of the present age should preclude the possi- " bility of an attempt to murder him, they will " endeavour to brutalize his faculties. Or finally, " if he should escape both physical and moral " assassination,—if his mother's cares and his " own natural endowments should rescue him " from all those dangers, then . . . . then . . ." (he repeated several times, as if absorbed in re- flection) " why then . . . . But who can calcu- " late on the destinies of any one!"

The Emperor then turned the conversation to England, by remarking, that she alone was in- terested in the destruction of France; and in the plenitude and versatility of his fancy, he touched on all the various plans which she was likely to adopt for that purpose. She could not increase the power of Belgium, he said, otherwise Ant- werp would become as formidable to her as it had been under his reign. She must, he observed, leave the Bourbons in the centre, with only eight or ten millions of inhabitants, and surround them with Princes, Dukes or Kings of Normandy,

Brittany, Aquitaine, and Provence; so that Cherburg, Brest, Garonne, and the Mediterranean would be in the possession of different sovereigns. This, he said, would make the French monarchy retrograde several ages, would restore it to its situation under the first Capets, and would provide for the Bourbons a few centuries of new and laborious efforts.—"But, fortunately," observed the Emperor, "before England can arrive "at this point, she will have to surmount almost "invincible obstacles,—the uniformity of the di- "vision of the territory in departments, the simi- "litude of language, the identity of manners, the "universality of the code, the generality of my "lyceums, and the glory and splendour which I "have left behind me;—these are so many indis- "soluble knots, and truly national institutions.

"A great nation like France cannot easily be "parcelled out, or if it should, it will be con- "stantly re-uniting and seeking to recover its "importance; like Ariosto's giant, who runs "after his limbs and even his head, as they are "lopped off, and after putting them on begins to "fight again."—"But Sire," said some one present, "the power of the giant depended on the "plucking out of a single hair; and in like man- "ner Napoleon may be said to be the hair on "which depended the existence of France."—"No," resumed the Emperor, "my memory and "my ideas would still survive.—But," continued

he, " England on the contrary, would in course " of time have become a mere appendage to " France, had the latter continued under my " dominion. England was by nature intended " to be one of our Islands, as well as Oleron or " Corsica. On what trifles does the fate of Em- " pires depend! How petty and insignificant are " our revolutions in the grand organization of " the universe! If instead of entering upon the " Egyptian expedition, I had invaded Ireland; " if some slight derangement of my plans, had " not thrown obstacles in the way of my Bou- " logne enterprise, what would England have " been to-day? What would have been the situa- " tion of the continent, and the whole political " world?"

Voltaire's Brutus.

25th.—After dinner the Emperor read Œdipus, which he admired exceedingly. He next took up Brutus, of which he gave us a very remarkable analysis. He observed that Voltaire seemed not to have entered into the right feeling for his subject. " The Romans," said he, " were guided " by patriotism as we are by honour. Voltaire " has not pourtrayed the real sublimity of Bru- " tus, sacrificing his sons, for the welfare of his " country, and in spite of the pangs of paternal " affection. He has made him a monster of pride, " decreeing the death of his children, for the sake

" of preserving his power, his name, and his " celebrity. The other characters of the tragedy " he added, are equally misconceived, Tullia is " described as a fury who takes advantage of " her situation; and not as a woman of tender " sentiment, who might be led into crime by " seduction and dangerous influence."

French Colony on the banks of the River St. Lawrence.—The Emperor might have proceeded to America.—Carnot at the time of the abdication.

26th.—The Emperor sent for me about two o'clock. He was not well and was much fatigued. We looked over a few newspapers.

In these papers it was stated that Joseph Bonaparte had made extensive purchases of land on the north of the State of New York, on the river St. Lawrence, and that a great number of French families had grouped round him and were soon likely to form a numerous colony. It was remarked that the spot seemed to have been fixed on with a view to the interests of the United States, and in opposition to the policy of England. In the south, in Louisiana, for example, the refugees could have looked forward only to the enjoyment of repose and domestic happiness; but in their present situation they must soon naturally become objects of attraction to the population of Canada, which was already

French, and they must ultimately form a strong barrier, or even a hostile point against the English, who yet possess the dominion of that part of America. The Emperor said that the establishment would in a few years present a numerous population distinguished for all sorts of useful knowledge. If they do their duty, said he, they will transmit from their colony excellent writings, victorious refutations of the system which now triumphs in Europe. When at the island of Elba, the Emperor had entertained a similar idea.

He then proceeded to calculate all that he had given to the different members of his family; and observed that they might have amassed considerable sums of money. For his part, he said, he had nothing; if in course of time he might find himself in possession of any property in Europe, he should be wholly indebted for it to the foresight and contrivance of some of his friends.

If the Emperor had gone to America he intended to have collected all his relatives around him; and he supposed that they might have realized at least forty millions of francs. This point would have become the nucleus of a national union; a second France. Before the conclusion of a year, the events of Europe would have collected around him a hundred millions of francs and sixty thousand individuals, most of them possessing wealth, talent, and information. The Emperor said he should have liked to realize

that dream; it would have been a renewal of his glory.

" America," continued he, " was in all respects " our proper asylum. It is an immense continent, " possessing the advantages of a peculiar system " of freedom. If a man be troubled with melan- " choly, he may get into a coach, and drive a " thousand leagues, enjoying all the way, the " pleasure of a common traveller. In America " you may be on a footing of equality with every " one; you may, if you please, mingle with the " crowd, without inconvenience, retaining your " own manners, your own language, your own " religion, &c."

He said it was impossible he could henceforth consider himself as a private man in Europe; his name was too popular throughout the continent. He was in some way or other connected with every people, and belonged to every country.

" As for you," said he to me smiling, " your " fate seemed naturally to lead you to the shores " of the Oronooko or to Mexico, where the recol- " lection of *the good Las Cases*, is not yet obli- " terated. You would there have enjoyed all " you could have wished. The destinies of some " men seem to be marked out. Gregoire, for in- " stance, has only to go to Hayti, and he would " immediately be made a Pope."

At the time of the Emperor's second abdication, an American in Paris wrote to him as fol-

lows :—" While you were at the head of a nation, you could perform any miracle, you might conceive any hopes; but now you can do nothing more in Europe. Fly to the United States! I know the hearts of the leading men, and the sentiments of the people of America. You will there find a second country, and every source of consolation." The Emperor would not listen to such a suggestion. He might, doubtless, by dint of speed or disguise, have gained Brest, Nantes, Bordeaux, or Toulon, and in all probability have reached America; but he conceived that either disguise or flight would be derogatory from his dignity. He thought himself bound to prove to all Europe his full confidence in the French people, and their extreme attachment to him, by passing through his dominions at such a crisis, merely in the quality of a private man, and unattended by any escort. But what above all influenced him at that critical moment was, the hope that impending dangers would open the eyes of his subjects, that they would rally around him, and that he might save the country. This hope caused him to linger at Malmaison, and to postpone his departure, after he had reached Rochefort. If he is now at St. Helena, he owes his captivity to this sentiment, of which he was unable to divest himself. Subsequently, when he had no other resource than to accept the hospitality of the Belerophon, it was not perhaps without a feel-

ing of inward satisfaction, that he found himself, by the force of circumstances, irresistibly led to fix his abode in England, where he might enjoy the happiness of being still but little removed from France. He was well aware that he could not be free in England; but he hoped to be heard, and then a chance would at least have been open to the impressions which he might create. "The English Ministers," said he, "who "are the enemies of their country, and who have "sold her to foreigners, thought they had too "much cause to dread my presence. They con- "ceived that my opinion in London would be "more powerful than the whole opposition: that "it would have compelled them either to change "their system, or resign their places; and to "keep themselves in place, they basely sacri- "ficed the true interests of their country, the "triumph, the glory of her laws, the peace of "the world, the welfare of Europe, the happi- "ness and the benedictions of posterity."

In the course of conversation during the even- ing, the Emperor once more adverted to Water- loo, and described his anxiety and indecision before he came to a final resolution respecting his abdication. I pass over a multitude of de- tails, lest I should be led into repetition; I note down only the following:—

The Emperor's speech to his ministers was the literal prophecy of all that subsequently took

place. Carnot was the only one who seemed to take a right view of the case. He opposed the abdication, which he said was a death-blow to France; and he wished that we should defend ourselves even to annihilation. Carnot was the only one who maintained this opinion; all the rest were for the abdication. That measure was determined, and Carnot, covering his face with his hands, burst into tears.

At another moment the Emperor said, "I am "not a God: I cannot do all by my own single "efforts: I cannot save the nation without the "help of the nation. I am certain that the people "then entertained these sentiments, and that "they are now suffering undeservedly. It was "the host of intriguers, and men possessing titles "and offices, who were really guilty. That which "misled them, and which ruined me, was the "mild system of 1814, the benignity of the re-"storation; they looked for a repetition of this "lenity. The change of the Sovereign had be-"come a mere joke. They all calculated on re-"maining just as they had been before, whether "I should be succeeded by Louis XVIII. or any "other. These stupid, selfish, and egotistical "men looked upon the great event as merely a "competition, about which they cared but little; "and they thought only of their individual in-"terests, when a deadly war of principles was "about to be commenced. And why should I

" disguise the truth? There were among the in-
" dividuals whom I had elevated, and by whom
" I was surrounded, a number of . . . . . !"
Then, turning to me, he added, " I am not allud-
" ing to your Faubourg St. Germain, with re-
" spect to which the matter was totally different,
" and for which some excuse may be found.
" During my first reverses in 1814, the greatest
" traitors were not the individuals connected
" with that party, of whom I had no great cause
" to complain; and who, therefore, on my re-
" turn, were not bound to me by any particular
" ties of gratitude. I had abdicated, the King
" was restored. They had but returned to their
" old attachments, and had only renewed their
" allegiance."

State of French Manufactures.—On Physiognomy.

27th.—The Emperor went out about 2 o'clock; the weather was very fine. The season is sensibly different from that which we had on our arrival; the air is infinitely more pure. The Emperor was, however, very ill, and very low-spirited. He walked to the extremity of the wood, while we were waiting for the calash. We took our usual drive.

The conversation turned on the state of manufactures in France. The Emperor said he had brought them to a degree of prosperity hitherto

unknown; and which was scarcely credited in Europe, or even in France. This was a subject of wonder to foreigners on their arrival. The Abbé de Montesquion, he said, was constantly expressing his astonishment at this circumstance, the proofs of which he had in his own hands, when he became Minister of the Interior.

The Emperor was the first individual in France who said: Agriculture, first; industry, that is to say, manufactures next; and, finally, trade, which must arise out of the superabundance of the two first. He also defined and put into practice, in a clear and connected way, the systems most conducive to the interests of our manufacturers and merchants. To him we were indebted for the cultivation of sugar, indigo, and cotton. He offered a reward of 1,000,000 of francs to the individual who should discover a method of spinning flax like cotton; and he doubted not that this discovery would have been made. The fatality of circumstances alone prevented this grand idea from being carried into execution.

"The old aristocracy, those enemies to our "prosperity," said the Emperor, "exhausted all "their wit in stupid jokes and frivolous caricatures "on these subjects. But the English had no cause "to laugh; they felt the blow, and have not yet "recovered from it."

A short time before dinner the Emperor sent for me to attend him in his chamber. He was

very unwell; he tried to converse, but he had not strength. He attributed his indisposition to his having drunk some bad wine, which had newly arrived. He said that Corvesart, Bertholet, and other physicians and chemists, had frequently said that if he experienced the least unpleasant flavour, on first tasting his wine, he must by no means suffer it pass over his throat.

The turn of the conversation led him to express his surprise at the contrast between the character of the mind, and the expression of the countenance which was observable in some individuals. "This "proves," said he, "that we must not judge of a "man by his face; we can know him only by his "conduct. What countenances have I had to judge "of in the course of my life! What odd exam- "ples of physiognomy have come under my ob- "servation! And what rash opinions have I "heard on this subject! Thus I invariably made "it a rule never to be influenced either by fea- "tures or by words. Still, however, it must be "confessed, that we sometimes find curious re- "semblances between the countenance and the "character. For instance, on looking at the face "of our *Monseigneur*, (meaning the Governor,) "who would not recognise the features of a *tiger-* "*cat!* I will mention another instance. There was "a man in my service, who was employed about "my person. I liked him very much; but I was "obliged to dismiss him, because I several times

" caught him with his hands in my pockets. He " committed his thefts too impudently: let any " one look at this man, and they must admit that " he has a *magpie's eye.*"

While we were conversing on the subject of physiognomy, some one remarked, that Mirabeau speaking of Pastoret's face said: " it is a " compound of the *tiger* and the *calf;* but the " *calf* predominates." At this the Emperor laughed heartily, and said it was strictly true.

The Emperor wished to dine alone in his chamber. He sent for me about ten o'clock. He was then better; and he looked over several of the books which lay scattered upon his couch. He began to read Racine's Alexander, of which he expressed his dislike; and he afterwards took up Andromache, which is one of his favourite pieces.

Marks of respect shewn to the Emperor by the English soldiers.

28th.—The Emperor went out about two o'clock. The weather was exceedingly pleasant. We took nearly an hour's drive in the calash. It had been at first proposed that the Emperor should ride on horseback; for his health was suffering from the want of that exercise. But he would not consent to go out on horseback; he said that to ride backward and forward within the limits marked out to him was like being confined

in a riding-school, and he could not endure it. However, on our return home, we succeeded in changing his determination. We all attended him, and we reached the summit of that part of Goat-Hill which separates the horizon of the town from that of Longwood. On our way back we passed in front of the English camp; this was the first time we had passed it since our residence at Longwood. The soldiers immediately quitted their various occupations, and eagerly formed themselves in a line as we passed along. "What "European soldier," said the Emperor, "would "not be inspired with respect at my approach!" He knew this, and therefore carefully avoided passing the English camp, lest he should be accused of wishing to excite this sentiment. We all very much enjoyed the ride, and we returned home about five o'clock. The Emperor was a little fatigued.

For some time past he has relinquished his regular dictations. He saw some skittles which had been made by the servants for their own amusement. He ordered them to be brought to us, and we played several games with them. The Emperor won a napoleon and a half from me. He made me pay the debt, and then threw the money to the servant who had attended us for the purpose of running after the ball.

Corsica.—Remark made by Paoli.—Magnanimous conduct of Madame Mere.—Lucien intended to be Governor-general of Corsica.—The First Consul's Court.—Madame de Chevreuse.— The Emperor receives a letter from his mother.

29th.—For some time past, at our urgent solicitation, the Emperor every evening made a promise that he would ride on horseback early on the following morning; but whenever the appointed hour arrived he invariably changed his determination. This morning he was in the garden by half-past eight o'clock; and he sent for me. The conversation turned on Corsica, and was maintained for upwards of an hour.

"One's native country," said he, "is always "dear. Even St. Helena may have charms to "those who were born here." To the Emperor, therefore, Corsica presented a thousand attractions. He described the grand scenery of the country, and remarked that islanders always present originality of character; because their situation tends to protect them against invasion, and precludes that perpetual intercourse with foreigners which is experienced in continental states. The inhabitants of mountainous regions, he said, always possessed a degree of energy, and a turn of mind peculiar to themselves. He dwelt much on the charms of his native country, which from his early recollections, was to him

superior to any other spot in the world. He thought that the very smell of the earth would enable him to distinguish his native land, even were he conducted blindfold to her shores; there was in it something peculiar which he had never observed elsewhere. Corsica was the scene of all his early attachments; he had there passed the happy years of his childhood, freely roaming among the hills and vallies, enjoying the honours and pleasures of hospitality. He traced different lines of family connections, who, he said, extended the spirit of animosity and revenge, even to the seventh degree; and he observed that a young woman in Corsica thought she enhanced the value of her dowry, by enumerating the list of her cousins. He recollected with pride that when only twenty years of age, he had accompanied Paoli on a grand excursion to Porte di Nuovo. Paoli's retinue was numerous; he was escorted by upwards of 500 of his followers on horseback. Napoleon rode by his side, and as they went along, Paoli pointed out to him the different positions and the places which had been the scenes of resistance or triumph during the war for Corsican liberty. He related to him all the particulars of that glorious conflict; and on hearing the remarks and opinions which fell from his young companion: he said, "Oh Na-
"poleon! there is nothing modern in your cha-

" racter! you are formed entirely on Plutarch's " model."

When Paoli manifested his determination to surrender the island to the English, the Bonaparte family continued to head the French party, and had the fatal honour of being *threatened* with *a march* of the inhabitants of the island, that is to say, they were attacked by a levy in mass: 12 or 15,000 peasants made a descent from the mountains on Ajaccio. The house occupied by Napoleon's family was pillaged and burnt, and the vines and flocks were destroyed. Madame, surrounded by a few faithful friends, wandered for some time on the sea-shore, and was at length obliged to fly to France. The Bonaparte family had always been much attached to Paoli, and he in his turn had professed particular respect towards Madame. It is, however, but just to remark, that he employed persuasion before he resorted to force. " Renounce this opposition," said he, " it will prove the ruin of yourself, your " family, and your fortune; you will bring irre- " parable misery on yourself." The Emperor, indeed, affirmed that but for the chances of the revolution, the family could never have recovered from their misfortunes. Madame, like another Cornelia, heroically replied, " that she, her chil- " dren, and her relatives would only obey two " laws, namely, those of duty and honour. Had

" old Archdeacon Lucien been living at that time, " his heart would have bled at the idea of the " danger of his sheep, goats, and cattle, and his " prudence would not have failed to allay the " storm."

Madame Bonaparte, the victim of her patriotism and her devotedness to France, expected to be received at Marseilles as an emigrant of distinction; but there she scarcely found herself in safety; and to her astonishment discovered that the spirit of patriotism existed only among the very lowest classes of the people.

Napoleon, in his youth wrote a history of Corsica, which he dedicated to the Abbé Raynal. This production gained for him some flattering compliments and letters from the Abbé, who was the fashionable author of the day. This history has been lost.

The Emperor remarked, that during the war in Corsica, all the French who came to the Island formed some decided opinion on the character of the mountaineers. Some said, that they were full of enthusiasm, others regarded them merely as bands of robbers.

It was said in the Senate at Paris, that France had chosen a ruler from among a people whom the Romans would not take for their slaves. " The Senator intended this remark as an insult " to me," said the Emperor; " but he forgot " how high a compliment he was thus paying to

" the Corsicans. He spoke truly; the Romans " never purchased Corsican slaves: they knew it " was impossible to subdue the Corsicans to the " yoke of slavery."

During the war for liberty in Corsica, some one proposed the singular plan of cutting down and burning all the chesnut trees, the fruit of which furnished sustenance to the mountaineers. By this means it was hoped they would be compelled to descend to the plains to sue for food and peace. Happily, said the Emperor, this was one of those impracticable plans which can be realized only on paper. From very different motives, Napoleon during the early period of his life, had constantly declaimed against the goats, which are very numerous in the Island, and commit great ravages among the trees. He wished them to be entirely extirpated. On this subject he had some terrible disputes with his uncle, Archdeacon Lucien, who possessed numerous herds of goats, and who defended them like a patriarch. In his rage, he reproached his nephew with being an *innovator*, and blamed *philosophic ideas*, for the danger with which his goats were threatened.

Paoli died in London at a very old age: he lived to see Napoleon First Consul and Emperor. The Emperor expressed his regret at not having recalled him. " That," said he " would have " been highly gratifying to me. Such an act

" would have been a real trophy of honour. But " my mind was absorbed in important affairs; I " rarely had time to indulge my personal feel- " ings."

After the Emperor's return in 1815, when Lucien arrived in Paris, Joseph advised the Emperor to appoint him Governor-General of Corsica. This measure was even determined on; the importance and hurry of passing events alone prevented its execution. " If Lucien had gone to Corsica," said the Emperor, " he would still have remained " master of the Island, and what resources would " it not have presented to our persecuted pa- " triots?—To how many unfortunate families " would not Corsica have afforded an assylum? " He repeated that he had perhaps committed a " fault at the time of his abdication, in not re- " serving to himself the sovereignty of Corsica, " together with the possession of some millions of " the civil list; and in not having conveyed all his " valuables to Toulon, whence nothing could have " impeded his passage. In Corsica, he would " have found himself at home; the whole popu- " lation would have been as it were, his own " family. He might have disposed of every arm " and every heart. Thirty thousand or even " 50,000 allied troops could not have subdued " him." No sovereign in Europe would have undertaken such a task. But it was precisely the happy security of the situation that deterred him

from availing himself of it. He would not have it said, that amidst the wreck of the French people, which he plainly foresaw, he alone had been dexterous enough to gain the port.

Some one here observed that, according to the general opinion, he might, in 1814, have secured the possession of Corsica instead of the island of Elba. "Certainly I might," replied the Emperor, "and those who are well acquainted with "the affairs of Fontainbleau will be surprised "that I did not. . . . . I might then have re- "served to myself whatever I pleased. The "humour of the moment led me to decide in "favour of Elba. Had I possessed Corsica, it "is probable that my return in 1815 would never "have been thought of. Even at Elba those "whose interest it was to keep me there, decreed "my return by their own misgovernment and the "non-fulfilment of the engagements which they "had entered into with me."

We now reminded the Emperor of his intention of riding on horseback; but he said he would rather walk and chat. He ordered his breakfast, after which we conversed for some time on the old court, the nobility who composed it, their pretensions, the King's equipages, &c.; and all this was compared with what the Emperor had himself introduced.

The Emperor then reverted to the period of his Consulship, and described the difficulties which

he had experienced in forming the kind of court which was then kept up at the Tuileries. On his arrival there, he was resolved to obliterate the recollection of the manners and conflicts of the period to which he had just succeeded. But he had hitherto passed his life in camps:—he had just returned from Egypt and had quitted France when young and inexperienced. He was a stranger to every one, and he at first found this a source of great embarrassment. Lebrun acted as his guide during the first years of his Consulship. Bankers and money-speculators were at that time persons of the first consequence. No sooner did the Consul enter upon his functions, than a host of these individuals crowded round him and eagerly offered to advance him considerable sums of money. This conduct though seemingly dictated only by generosity was not, however without interested views. They were for the most part men of bad character; and their offers were rejected. The First Consul had a natural dislike of men of this profession. He said he had laid down the firm determination to act upon other principles than those of Scherer, Barras, and the Directory. He was anxious that probity should become the main spring and feature of his new government. The Consul was also immediately surrounded by the wives of these money-lenders, who were all beautiful and elegant women. Indeed a money-lender at that time seemed to

regard it as indispensably necessary that his wife should be a woman of fascinating manners: it was a circumstance that tended materially to assist his speculations. But the prudent Lebrun was at hand to direct the young Telemachus. He resolved to exclude this sort of society from the Tuileries. It was, however, no such easy matter to assemble a suitable circle around the Consul: nobles were rejected in order to avoid giving offence to public opinion; and contractors were excluded, with the view of purifying the morals of the new era. These two classes being thus shut out, of course no very distinguished society remained; and the Tuileries for some time presented a sort of magic-lantern, very varied and changeable.

At Moscow, the Vice-Roy happened to meet with some letters written by Princess Dolgoruki, who had been at Paris at the period here alluded to. This correspondence gave a very favourable picture of the Tuileries. The Princess observed, that it was not precisely a court, nor yet exactly a camp; but something perfectly new in its kind. She added, that the First Consul did not carry his hat under his arm, nor wear a dress-sword by his side; but that he was nevertheless a swordsman. "However," continued the Emperor, "such "is the effect of evil-report, that, owing to some "such expressions as these having been misre-"presented to me, Princess Dolgoruki was very

" unjustly treated. I ordered her, at that time, " to quit France. We thought her hostile to the " principles of our government; but we were, *as* " *it may be seen*, mistaken. Madame G . . . ., " the mistress of M. de T . . . . . ., for " he had not yet made her his wife, greatly con- " tributed to alienate from us the regard of the " Russians."

The Emperor observed, that on his return from Elba, he had experienced far less embarrassment in composing his court. " It was, indeed," said he, " all ready formed, by the ladies whom I termed " *my widows*. These were Madame Duroc, the " Duchess of Istria; Mesdames Regnier, Lagrand, " and all the other widows of my first generals. " I told the Princesses who consulted me on the " method of recomposing their courts, to follow " my example. Nothing was more natural and " proper. These ladies, though still young, were " already experienced in the world; and among " them were several beautiful and fascinating " women. Most of them have now lost their " fortunes; some, I have been told, are re-mar- " ried, and have changed their names;* so that " of all the wealth and rank founded by me, no " traces will perhaps remain; even names will

* The Emperor had been informed, that two or three of the widows of his most distinguished generals had lately re-married. This, however, is untrue.

" disappear. If this should really be the case, " will it not afford ground for saying, that after " all there must have been a radical error in the " selections I made. But it will be all the worse for " the parties themselves; they will by this means " only furnish a triumph and a ground of inso- " lence to the old aristocracy."

We again reminded the Emperor of his intended ride on horseback: we urged him not to neglect it, because we knew it to be absolutely necessary for his health. But we could not prevail on him to leave the garden. " We are very well here," said he; " we will have some tents pitched on " this spot." We began to talk about the Faubourg St. Germain, and the Hotel de Luynes, which the Emperor termed its cathedral. He described to us the cause of the banishment of Madame de Chevreuse. He said, he had frequently threatened to visit her with this punishment, and for conduct of the most mischievous and insolent nature. One day, when urged to the utmost extremity, he addressed her as follows:—" Madam, according to the feudal no- " tions and doctrines, entertained by you and " your friends, you pretend to be the sovereigns " of your estates! Now, on the same principles, " I may style myself the Sovereign Lord of " France. I may claim Paris as my village, and " may banish from it every individual who is " obnoxious to me. I judge you by your own

"laws. Begone! and never venture to return!" On decreeing her exile, the Emperor was firmly resolved never to be prevailed on to recal her; because, he said, he had endured much before he decreed her punishment, and he found himself compelled to set an example of severity to spare the necessity of repeating it on others. This was one of his grand principles.

I told the Emperor, that I had frequently visited the Hotel de Luynes, and that I had been well acquainted with Madame de Chevreuse and her mother-in-law, for whom I had always entertained a great regard. The latter had evinced singular and constant affection for her daughter-in-law, having shared her exile, and accompanied her in her different journeys from place to place. When proceeding on my mission to Illyria, I one night met them both in an inn at the foot of the Simplon. To be thus able to procure in the desert the most trivial details relating to Paris and the court, was to them a source of unfeigned joy, and a most unexpected instance of good fortune. They listened to me with no less eagerness than that evinced by Fouquet on hearing the accounts of Lauzun. Their banishment from the capital had been to them an absolute sentence of death; it had overwhelmed them in despair!

Finally, I assured the Emperor, that for a considerable period I had observed the Hotel de Luynes, if not subdued, at least calmed and reduced to

something less than indifference; but our unexpected disasters had revived its former spirit.

As to Madame de Chevreuse, who was a pretty, intelligent, and amiable woman, with a somewhat romantic turn of mind, she had doubtless been seduced by the charms of notoriety, or urged on by her numerous flatterers and admirers, some of whom were very little worthy of her regard. "I "know it," observed the Emperor; "she hoped "to recommence *the Fronde;* but I was not a "minor Sovereign."

The brig Moschetto, which left England on the 23d of March, arrived with files of *Journaux des Debats* down to the 5th of March, and London papers to the 21st. On retiring to his closet, the Emperor desired me to follow him. He began to peruse the *Journaux des Debats;* and in the meanwhile, a letter was delivered to me from the Grand Marshal. It had just arrived from Europe, and was addressed to the Emperor. I handed it to him. He read it over once and sighed; and then having read it a second time, he tore it, and threw the fragments beneath the table. This letter was delivered open! . . . . . The Emperor then resumed his perusal of the Journals, and suddenly stopping, he said, after a few moments silence:—"That letter was from poor Ma- "dame: she is well, and wishes to come to reside "with me at St. Helena! . . . ." After this he continued his reading. This, which was the first

letter that the Emperor had received from any individual of his family, was in the handwriting of Cardinal Fesch. The Emperor was evidently much hurt by its having been delivered to him open.

Moreau, Georges, and Pichegru.—Difference of opinion produced by their conspiracy in the camp of Boulogne and in Paris.

30th.—The Emperor went out about two o'clock, and we all attended him. He began to converse about the intelligence contained in the French papers which he had just received, and alluded to the statues which, it was stated, were to be erected to the memory of Moreau and Pichegru. "A statue to Moreau," said he, "whose conspiracy in 1803 is now so well "proved! Moreau, who, in 1813, died fighting "under the Russian standard! A monument to "the memory of Pichegru, who was guilty of "one of the most heinous of crimes! who pur- "posely suffered himself to be defeated, and who "connived with the enemy in the slaughter of his "own troops! And after all," continued he, "his- "tory is only made up of reports which gain "credit by repetition. Because it has been re- "peatedly affirmed that these were great men, "who deserved well of their country, they will "at length pass for such, and their adversaries "will be despised."

Some one present remarked, that it might have been thus in the dark ages of ignorance; but that now the multitude of monuments and public documents, the arts of printing and engraving, and the general diffusion of knowledge, must always render truth accessible to those who wish to come at it, and as each party has its own historians, the thinking reader will always be enabled to form an impartial opinion.

The Emperor then described at length the affairs of Moreau, Georges, and Pichegru, to which I have before alluded, and of which I promised further details. He now informed us, that the man who made the first confessions, indicated, though without naming him, a person to whom Georges, and the other leaders of the conspiracy, never spoke without taking their hats off, and whom they treated with the utmost consideration and respect. It was at first supposed that this individual must have been the Duke de Berri; and some concluded him to have been the Duke d'Enghien, during his momentary appearance. Charles d'Hosier, one of the conspirators, unexpectedly drew aside the veil. A few days after his arrest, he was seized with a fit of melancholy and hanged himself in prison. The alarm was however given and he was cut down. Stretched on his bed, and while yet struggling between life and death, he vented repeated imprecations on Moreau, and

accused him of having treacherously seduced many well-disposed men, and held out to them promises of assistance which he never realized. He likewise mentioned the names of Georges and Pichegru. This was the first circumstance that excited suspicion against Georges and Pichegru; there was previously no idea of either the one or the other having been engaged in the conspiracy. Real who had hastened to this sort of death-bed confession of d'Hosier, proposed to the Consul that he should order the arrest of Moreau.

"This event created a great sensation," said the Emperor. "The public mind was wrought "up to a high pitch of fermentation. Doubts "were entertained of the truth of the statements "made by the Government respecting the extent "of the conspiracy, and the number of the con- "spirators. Of the latter it was affirmed there "were about forty in Paris. Their names were "published, and the First Consul pledged his "honour to secure them. He summoned Bas- "sières, and gave orders that he with his corps, "should surround and guard the walls of Paris. "For the space of six weeks, nobody was suf- "fered to quit the capital without special per- "mission. A general gloom prevailed through "Paris; but every day the Moniteur announced "the arrest of one or two of the individuals who "it was alleged were concerned in the conspi- "racy. Public opinion took a turn in my fa-

" vour ; and indignation against the conspirators " increased in proportion as they were secured. " Not one escaped."

The public papers of the period detail the particulars of the arrest of Georges, who killed two men before he could be secured. It appears that he was betrayed by his comrade, who drove the cabriolet in which they were both riding together.

As to Pichegru, he was the victim of the basest treachery. " This circumstance," said the Emperor, " was truly a disgrace to human nature. " He was sold by his intimate friend; by a man " whom I will not name, on account of the horror " and disgust which his conduct is calculated to " excite." We informed the Emperor that the name of this individual had been mentioned in the Moniteur, at which he expressed surprise. " This man," continued he, " who was formerly " a military officer, and who has since followed " the business of a merchant at Lyons, offered to " deliver up Pichegru for 100,000 crowns. On " the day on which he made this proposition, he " stated that they had, on the preceding evening " supped together, and that Pichegru finding " himself every day alluded to in the Moniteur, " and being aware that the critical moment was " fast approaching, said, ' If I and a few other " Generals were boldly to present ourselves to " the troops, should we not gain them over?'— " ' No,' replied the friend, ' you form a wrong

"idea of the state of feeling in France; you "would not gain over a single soldier.'—He "spoke truly. At night, the faithless friend "conducted the officers of the police to Piche- "gru's door; and he gave them a minute descrip- "tion of his chamber and his means of defending "himself. Pichegru had pistols on his bed-room "table, and he kept a light burning while he slept. "The officers gently unlocked the door by means of "the false keys, which the treacherous friend had "procured for them. The table was overturned, "the candle was extinguished, and the officers "seized Pichegru, who immediately jumped out "of bed. He was a very powerful man; he "struggled desperately, and it was found neces- "sary to bind him and convey him to prison, "without waiting till he could be dressed."

On being placed at the head of the govern- ment, the First Consul was extremely anxious to tranquillize the western departments. He sum- moned nearly all the leading men of those dis- tricts, and succeeded in rousing several of them to a sense of the interests and glory of their country; he added, that he even drew tears from the eyes of some. Georges had his turn among the rest. The Emperor said that he had endea- voured to touch every individual string of his heart; but in vain, he could produce no vibra- tion. He found him lost to every generous feel-

ing, and coldly intent on his own ambitious calculations. He persisted in his determination to command his Cantons. The Consul, having exhausted every conciliatory argument, at length assumed the language of the first Magistrate of France. He dismissed him, and recommended him to go home and live quietly and submissively; and above all, not to mistake the nature of the course he had that moment adopted, nor to attribute to feebleness what was only the result of his moderation, and the consciousness of his power. He desired him to repeat to himself, and to all who were connected with him, that so long as the First Consul should hold the reins of authority, there would be no chance of safety for any who might dare to engage in conspiracy. Georges took his leave; but, as the event proved, not without having imbibed from this conference a feeling of respect for Napoleon, on whose destruction, however, he still continued bent.

Moreau was the rallying point and the centre of attraction to the conspirators, who came from London to attack Paris. It appeared that Lajolais, his Aide-de-camp, had deceived these men, by addressing them in the name of Moreau, and telling them, that that General was secure of popular favour throughout the whole of France, and could dispose of the whole army. Moreau constantly assured them, that he could command

no one, not even his Aide-de-camp; but that if they killed the First Consul, they might do any thing.

Moreau, when left to himself, was a very good sort of man. He was easily led, and this accounts for his inconsistencies. He left the palace in raptures, and returned to it full of spleen and malice;—having in the interim seen his mother-in-law and his wife. The First Consul, who would have been very glad to have gained him over to his side, once made it up with him completely; but their friendship lasted only four days. The Consul then vowed that he would never renew it. In fact, attempts were afterwards frequently made to reconcile them together; but Napoleon never would agree to it. He foresaw that Moreau would commit some fault, that he would lose himself; and certainly he could not have done so in a way more advantageous to the First Consul.

Some days previous to the battle of Leipsic, some carriages containing property and papers belonging to Moreau, which were on their way to his widow in England, were intercepted at Wittemberg. Among those papers, there was a letter from Madame Moreau herself, in which she advised her husband to lay aside his silly wavering conduct, and to come boldly to a determination. She urged him to assist in the triumph of the legitimate cause, that of the Bourbons. In

answer to this, Moreau wrote a few days before his death, begging her not to trouble him with her chimeras. "I have come near enough to "France," said he, "to know all that is going "forward there . . . . . I have got into a true "wasp's nest."

The Emperor was on the point of publishing these intercepted papers in the Moniteur; but there still existed in France some persons blindly tenacious of the opinion they had always maintained of Moreau, and who persisted in regarding him as a victim of tyranny. The counter-revolution had not yet afforded an opportunity of making known those acts hitherto disavowed, and of claiming their recompense. The circumstance of personal enmity prevented the Emperor from executing his intention. He thought it would not be becoming to revive this enmity for his own advantage, and to tarnish the memory of a man, who had just fallen on the field of battle.

The trial of Moreau and Pichegru, which was protracted for such a length of time, violently agitated the public mind. What added to the notoriety and interest of this trial, was its connection with the affair of the Duke d'Enghien, with which it became interwoven. "I have," said the Emperor "been reproached with having "committed a great fault in that trial. It has "been compared with the affair of the necklace, "in the reign of Louis XVI. which that Monarch

" put into the hands of Parliament, instead of " having it judged by a Committee. Politicians " have affirmed, that I should have contented " myself with consigning the criminals to the " judgment of a Military Committee. It would " have been ended in eight and forty hours. *I could* " *have done it;* it was legal, and nothing more " would have been required of me; I should have " avoided the risks to which I was exposed. But " I felt my power so unlimited, and I was at the " same time so strong in the justice of my cause, " that I was determined the affair should be " open to the observation of the whole world. " For this reason the ambassadors and agents of " Foreign powers were present during the pro- " ceedings!"

One of the company present here observed to the Emperor that the course he then adopted, had proved advantageous to history and honourable to his own character. It had furnished three volumes of authentic documents relating to the trial.

Another individual of the Emperor's suite, who, at the time of this celebrated trial, was with the army at Boulogne, said that all these events, even the affair of the Duke D'Enghien, had there excited but little interest, and that on his return to Paris, some time after, he was astonished to observe the sensation which they had created in the capital.

The Emperor remarked that the public mind had indeed been highly excited, particularly on the occasion of the death of the Duke d'Enghien, which event, he said, still appeared to be judged of in Europe with blindness and prejudice. He maintained his right of adopting the step he had taken, and enumerated the reasons which had urged him to it. He then adverted to the many attempts that had been made to assassinate him, and observed that he was bound in justice to say that he had never detected Louis XVIII. in any direct conspiracy against his life, though such plots had been incessantly renewed in other quarters. With regard to that Prince he had heard only of his systematic plans, ideal operations, &c.

"If," continued he, "I had continued in France "in 1815, I intended to have given publicity to "some of the latter attempts that were made "against me. The Maubreuil affair in particular "should have been solemnly investigated by the "first Court of the Empire, and Europe would "have shuddered to see to what an extent the "crime of secret assassination could be carried."

Conversation respecting the situation of England.—Letters detained by the Governor.—Characteristic observations.]

31st - At five o'clock, I went to join the Emperor in the garden; we were all assembled there. The conversation turned on politics. He de-

scribed the melancholy situation of England, amidst her triumphs. He alluded to the immensity of her debt, the madness, the impossibility of her becoming a continental power, the dangers which assailed her constitution, the embarrassment of her ministers, and the just clamour of the people. England with her 150 or 200 thousand men, made as many efforts as he, the Emperor, had ever made during the period of his great power, and perhaps even more. He had never employed beyond 500 thousand French troops. The traces of his Continental system were followed by all the powers on the Continent, and would be pursued still further in proportion as those powers became more settled. He did not hesitate to say, and he proved it, that England would have gained by remaining faithful to the treaty of Amiens; that such a line of conduct would have been to the advantage of all Europe, but that Napoleon himself, and his glory would have suffered by it. Yet it was England and not he who broke the treaty.

There was only one course, he continued, for England to pursue; namely, to return to her constitution and abandon the military system; to interfere with the Continent only through her maritime influence, in which she was pre-eminent. It was, he said, easy to foresee that great calamities would assail her should she adopt any other course, and this she would inevitably do,

because all her aristocracy urged her to it, and because the folly, pride, or venality of her present ministry, caused her to persist in the system she was pursuing.

The conversation being concluded, the Emperor returned to his study, and desired me to follow him. He told me that a letter which had been sent to him from England by post, was said to have been kept back by the Governor, because it was not addressed to him officially; and it was said that a letter for the Grand-Marshal had been detained for the same reason. The Emperor observed that if this were true, there was something peculiarly cruel in the conduct of the Governor, in having sent back the letters without even mentioning them to us, and without affording us the consolation of knowing from whom they came . . . A neglect of form, he said, might easily be corrected in the Island; but it could not so easily be observed at 2,000 leagues distance. I told the Emperor that a circumstance nearly similar to that which he had just mentioned had occurred to me eight or ten days back. "A person "who was on his way to Europe had tormented "me with his offers of service. I yielded to his "solicitations, and commissioned him to order me "some shoes and to get a watch changed for me, "for there is no person here who knows how to "repair a watch. The Governor had forbidden "the execution of those commissions, because

" they had not been addressed to himself. I " have said nothing on the subject to any one, " Sire, because it is a principle with me to " conceal an insult for which I cannot obtain re- " dress; but I shall find an opportunity to tell " the Governor my mind. In the meantime, nei- " ther he nor the person to whom I gave the " commission, have been able to draw from me " a line, or a single word, though the latter has " made several attempts to do so."

After dinner the Emperor, conversing on our situation and the conduct of the Governor, who came to-day and took a rapid circuit round Longwood, reverted to the subject of the last interview they had had together, and made some striking observations respecting it. " I behaved " very ill to him, no doubt," said he, " and nothing " but my present situation could excuse me; but " I was out of humour, and could not help it; " I should blush for it in any other situation. " Had such a scene taken place at the Tuileries, " I should have felt myself bound in conscience " to make some atonement. Never during the " period of my power did I speak harshly to " any one without afterwards saying something " to make amends for it. But here I uttered not " a syllable of conciliation, and I had no wish " to do so. However, the Governor proved him- " self very insensible to my severity; his delicacy " did not seem wounded by it. I should have

" liked, for his sake, to have seen him evince a " little anger, or pull the door violently after " him when he went away. This would at least " have shown that there was some spring and " elasticity about him; but I found nothing of " the kind."

The Emperor then again resumed his conversation on political affairs, which he maintained with so much spirit and interest, that I could have forgotten for a time what part of the world I was in. I could have believed myself still at the Tuileries, or in the Rue de Bourgogne.

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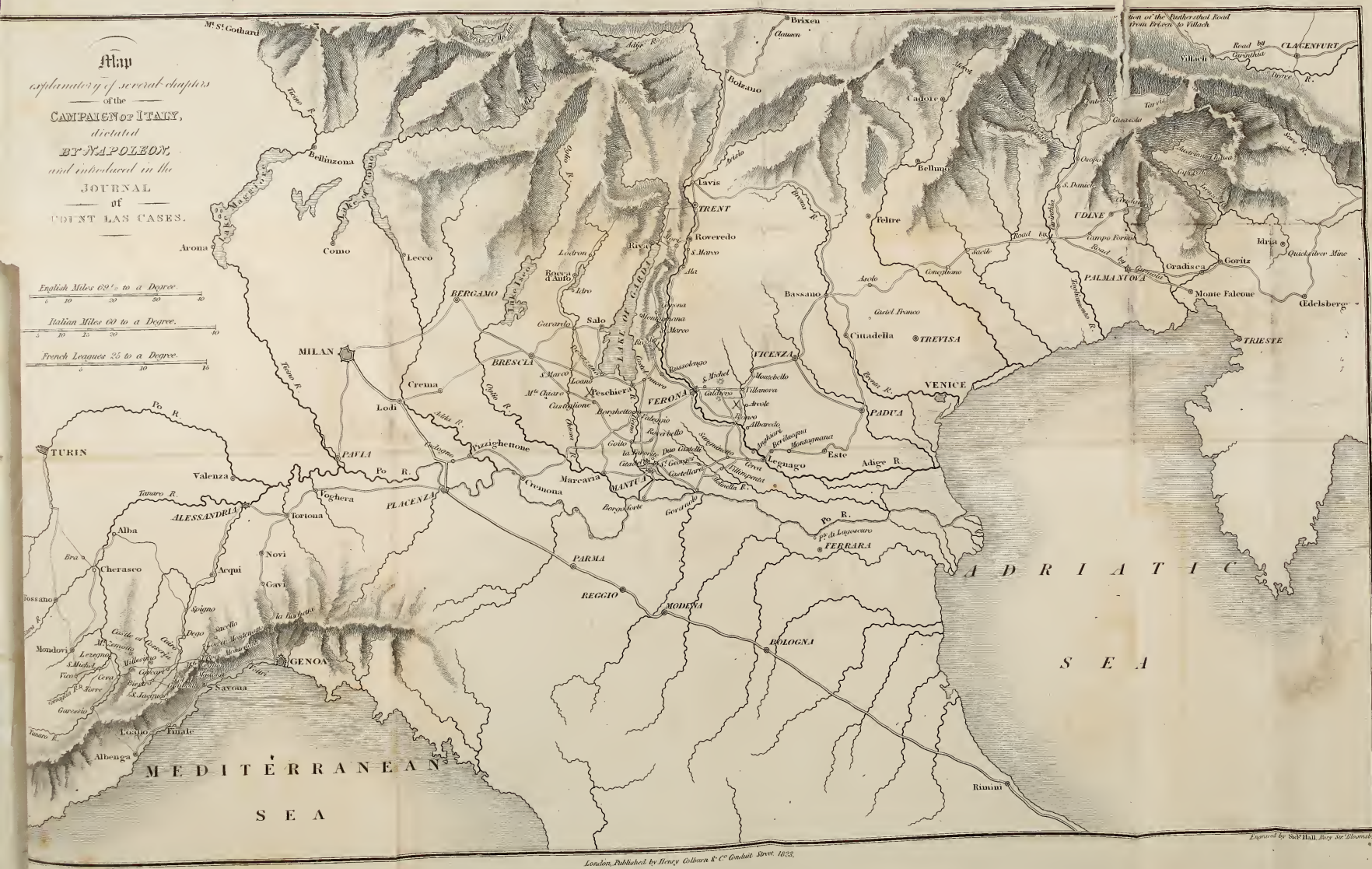

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